

The Canadian Historical Review

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RELATING TO CANADA

(FOUNDED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO IN 1896)

VOLUME XIX

1938

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Assistant Editor
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No. 1

MONTREAL AND THE INDIAN TRADE SILVER

IN Indian graves in Wisconsin, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, and the western parts of New York, that is, in those parts of the United States lying about Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario, numbers of small silver ornaments have been found. They include small circular brooches, plain and star-shaped, often pierced with geometrical patterns, crowned heart brooches, single and double, single and double crosses, crucifixes, gorgets, and a few brooches with masonic emblems. A number of similar objects have been obtained from Indians in Ontario and are now in the Royal Ontario Museum at Toronto. In the McCord Museum in Montreal there are some 450 similar brooches, crosses, and crucifixes, obtained from the Iroquois Indians of the locality.

Now the Indian of north-eastern America was not, apparently, a great metal-worker. Mr. W. M. Beauchamp of the New York State Museum has discussed this question at considerable length¹ and his conclusion is that "While implements of native copper have been found in New York, ornaments are very rare and mostly confined to beads". The general use of silver ornaments began amongst the Iroquois. Mr. Beauchamp writes: "About the beginning of the XVIII century Iroquois taste in ornament took a decided turn. Glass and porcelain beads were still in favour but the brass and bronze ornaments began to give place to silver. The change came gradually but very decidedly and in the end affected all Indian tribes."²

Many of these objects, however, bear silversmiths' marks and these suggest the view that such silver ornaments are not earlier than the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Some of these marks have been identified with American silversmiths, some are unidentified, but it is remarkable that many of them are the marks

¹W. M. Beauchamp, *Metallic ornaments of the New York Indians* (New York State Museum bulletin 73, archaeology 8, Dec., 1903).

²*Ibid.*, p. 74.

of Montreal silversmiths in the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century.

These silver ornaments were of various kinds. A gorget found in Michigan was made by Benjamin Laver of London in 1781, other gorgets have been found with the mark of Robert Cruickshank of Montreal. The gorget was a badge of rank in the British Army, and these examples were presented to chiefs as marks of honour. The Indian papers of Sir William Johnson have quite a number of entries of gorgets being so presented, such as: "July 1755 to 40 silver gorgets @ 21/ for chief warriors";³ "July 1755 to 1 gorget to a head warrior 26/-."⁴

In the McCord Museum are a number of thin circular disks, varying from 5 inches to 8 inches in diameter. They have various geometrical piercings and are engraved with zigzag and similar patterns. These disks were worn on the breast. One of them, engraved with a flower and the name "PANDIGUE", is marked "J.T." and was probably made by Jonathan Tyler of Montreal whose partnership with Sam Flint was dissolved in 1817. An armlet with "Kanawake" scratched on the inside has the same mark as the disk. There are also several crosses and crucifixes marked "R.C." in script; these were made by Robert Cruickshank. A pair of bracelets, with engraved designs, are marked "I.S." These are known to have been worn by Indian chiefs visiting London in 1824; they are in the possession of Mr. G. A. Neilson and were probably made by Joseph Sasseville who was working in Quebec in 1831. A number of the marks are accompanied by the word MONTREAL. This is so in the case of C.A. (Charles Arnoldi), P.A. (Peter Arnoldi), R.C. (Robert Cruickshank), C.F. (unidentified), H. (unidentified), P.H. (unidentified), J.O. (John Oakes). The mark P.B. (Peter Bohle) is on a chain in the McCord Museum.

Mr. G. I. Quimby, writing of the silver found in Michigan says: "There were selected for study 119 ornaments. . . . On 27 of these ornaments the touch marks were missing owing mostly to breakage and corrosion, although a few seem to have been unmarked. But certainly 62 articles of silver, probably 75, were manufactured in Montreal by late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century silversmiths. . . . Thus it is apparent that at least half, if not considerably more of the silver ornaments excavated from sites in Michigan are of British origin."⁵ Many of the small

³J. Sullivan (ed.), *The papers of Sir William Johnson* (Albany, 1921), II, 584.

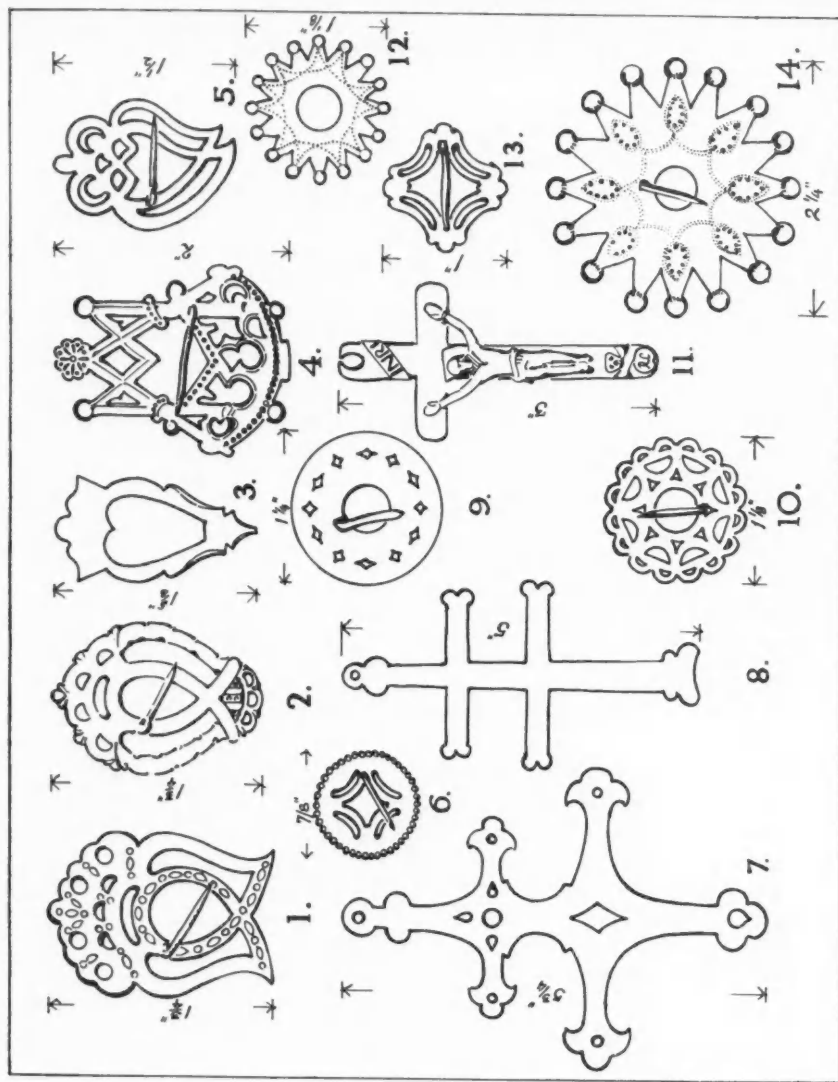
⁴*Ibid.*, II, 588.

⁵G. I. Quimby, jr., *Notes on Indian trade silver ornaments in Michigan* (Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters, XXII, 1936, 15).

INDIAN SILVER ORNAMENTS
IN THE MCCORD MUSEUM,
MCGILL UNIVERSITY

1, 2, 5—Double hearts crowned; "Luckenbooth" brooches. 3—Single heart crowned; "Luckenbooth" brooch. 4—Masonic brooch; "Luckenbooth". 6, 9, 10—Pierced brooches; many of these are made from dimes and half-dimes. 13—Small square pierced brooch. 12, 14—Star brooches; the smaller example was made from an American dime. 7—Double or "Lorraine" cross; marked "R.C." 8—Double cross; unmarked. 11—Crucifix; marked "R.C."

(The actual measurements of the ornaments in inches are given on the plate.)



pierced brooches were made by beating out American dimes and half-dimes and still retain on the back the shadow of the old coins. They are dated from 1839 to 1853. Taking all this evidence together, it gives a period for the production of these silver ornaments running from 1775, the first date we have for Robert Cruickshank, to 1853.

The heart brooches are formed of one or two intertwined hearts, surmounted by a crown. These have been variously interpreted either as representing intertwined serpents or, upside down, as "lyres". In fact they are a common European form. The examples found here were almost certainly made in Scotland where to-day they are generally known as "Luckenbooth" brooches. A note in the catalogue of the Scottish Exhibition of National History, in Glasgow in 1911, says:

The heart-shaped brooch in various forms was in use in many countries of western Europe, e.g. Scandinavia, Germany and England. In England it was one of the commonest forms in mediaeval times and was probably introduced about the XIII century. I am unable to suggest when it came into Scotland but do not consider any of the examples shown as previous to say 1700. This type of brooch is commonly known as a Luckenbooth Brooch on the supposition that they were made in the Luckenbooths that clustered round St. Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh. Sometimes they were called witch brooches, a name due to the belief that, if pinned in a child, they kept off spells. They are however love tokens, as shown by the inscriptions.

None of those found in America is inscribed, but many of the Scottish examples have initials and such mottoes as "my heart ye have thin i crave", or "I.B. I fancie non but the alon".

The masonic brooches are made up of squares, compasses, and other masonic emblems. They can have had no masonic meaning for the Indians but were simply imported with the others. A few heart brooches have been found marked R.C. showing that the Montreal silversmiths were imitating them, and incidentally, that the date at which they were in use was probably the end of the eighteenth century. When we consider that the fur traders in Montreal of the end of the eighteenth century were mainly Scotsmen, it is easy to understand how these little brooches came to be imported from Scotland.

A volume of James and Andrew McGill's journal of accounts is in the McCord Museum and casts light on the use and making of these silver trinkets. The book gives accounts in detail from August, 1797, to April, 1801, and has a few entries for 1802 and 1803. It is full of entries for "silver works". The principal

persons dealt with in this connection were Pierre Huguet Latour, the Widow Schindler, Curtius and Robert Cruickshank. The total expended on "silver works" from August, 1797, to April, 1801, was £4,184 3s. 5d. This is far in excess of any possible expenditure for private use; the McGills were fur traders, not silver merchants, and the sum must represent expenditure for trade purposes. There is, indeed, additional evidence for this in the character of some of the entries.

The principal maker was Pierre Huguet Latour who was paid £3,068 8s. 9d., either directly or through a Joseph Lecuyer, of whom we know nothing. A "Latour, orfèvre" is known to us through the accounts of St. Charles-sur-Richelieu and is probably the same man, a well-established silversmith. He was paid quite large amounts, as much as £694 16s. 9d. in one payment and £773 10s. 11d. in another. The entries leave no doubt that he actually made the silver himself:

3 September 1798

Pierre Latour, Paid him on account of silver works he is making. £27-10-11

7 August 1799

Pierre Huguet Latour, advanced him for making McGregor's silver works £75-''''

The Widow Schindler was paid in all £245-19-11 in fourteen payments of which the two largest are:—

27 September 1797

To Widow Schindler for silver works £49-1-8

To Madame Schindler for account of silver works, part of J.A. & Co.'s order. £64-6-4

J.A. & Co. are, as is shown by other entries, Jacob Astor & Co. It is interesting to find that this firm was being supplied with these articles by J. & A. McGill.

Madame Schindler died in 1802. The final entry in the journal shows that she must have been quite poor. It seems probable that she carried on this work as a kind of home industry. Certainly there is nothing in the design of most of these little brooches that could not be executed with the simplest tools.

11 April 1803

Profit & Loss. Dr to Widow Schindler.

For amount of her debt, which we give up seeing she died last winter and has left nothing to pay. £10-13-8

There are two entries in favour of Curtius.

7 June 1798.

Merchandise. Paid Curtius to make silver works. £25-''''

4 July 1798

Merchandise. Paid Curtius Bal^{ce} of a/c for silver w^{ks} £32-12-10

We have no further information about Curtius. These entries would seem to indicate that he was a craftsman. The use of the word "merchandise" probably indicates the purpose of the work. This was trade silver, regarded as merchandise.

Robert Cruickshank's name occurs continually throughout the journal but on one occasion only in connection with silver:

14 February 1798.

Merchandise. Dr to Robert Cruickshank for silver works per
bill of Parcels.

£20-14-0

Usually Cruickshank is credited with "sundries" or "sundry purchases". On one occasion one dozen till locks were got from him; in another, nails to £7 7s. 6d. and sundries to £7 12s. 4d. From the MacLachlan papers, as well as from references in church accounts, we know that Robert Cruickshank was a silversmith. He had a workshop and took apprentices: silver with his mark, "R.C.", in script, is well known and is usually of very good quality. Some of the entries in the McGill journal show that he had, by 1797, added a general hardware business to his original silversmithing craft.

The journal contains numerous entries of payments to and from Jacques Giasson, later Jacques Giasson & Co. This firm was engaged in trade with the great lakes and was financed by Messrs. McGill. Most of the items are for the freight of goods to and from Kingston, across Lake Ontario or to Niagara, or for various goods required in outfitting the trading canoes. Amongst these entries are four concerning silver works:

20 January 1798

Jacques Giasson to cash.

Advanced him for making silver works.

£50-''-''

5 February 1798

Jacques Giasson & Co. Advanced Mr. Giasson to get silver
works made.

£50-10-10

16 February 1798

Jacques Giasson & Co. Advanced Mr. Giasson to make
silver works.

£50-''-''

30 April 1798

Merchandise. Dr. to Jacques Giasson & Co. for sundry silver
works charged to him in invoice with other goods.

£387-4-8

On November 12, 1798, John Anderson & Co. were paid for silver works £213 0s. 8d. Other items charged to this firm are for freight of five packs by the *Betsy* and freight forwarded to Kingston from Montreal. John Anderson & Co. were clearly traders like Jacques

Giasson. Such accounts show clearly that the "silver works" were for use in the trade with the great lakes, just that country where these silver articles are now found.

An expenditure of over four thousand pounds in four years must represent an immense quantity of crosses and brooches. Yet the marks show that this was only a part of what was being made. Trade silver was used in very large quantities. The *Johnson papers* give a few particulars of the values attached to these ornaments. So we learn that silver brooches were valued at one racoon skin, large crosses at one small beaver or midlin buck, and earbobs at one doe.⁶ The profits must have been considerable, for the money values given in a letter of 1771 are:⁷

Brooches	3 ^d each
Ear bobs	6 ^d each
Rist bands	1/- each

A memorandum in the Public Archives of Canada, quoted in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1899-1900 (p. 221) states that there were given to a chief of the upper country amongst other presents "300 brooches, 12 pairs earbobs". In 1814 in the official list of goods sent to Green Bay for distribution were "eighteen hundred and seventy-four brooches, twelve hundred and fifty earbobs". So were the Indians kept in good temper.

The claim has been made for a few pieces that they come from early Jesuit times and there are, indeed, a few mentions of silver ornaments in the *Jesuit relations*. A letter from the missionary to the Abnakis at Saint François in 1737 mentions silver bracelets as worn by the Indians and states that "the captains are distinguished only by a gorget [*hausse-col*] and the chiefs by a medallion",⁸ and a description of the funeral of an Indian of the Nipistongue tribe mentions silver bracelets and a gorget tied with flame-coloured ribbon.⁹ No such early pieces, however, have been found in the province of Quebec or in the old Jesuit missions of Caughnawaga or Jeune Lorette. So far as dates can be fixed, all the ornaments found up to now were made between 1775 and 1853.

No doubt, also a certain amount was made by Indian silver-smiths. Mr. L. H. Morgan in his report of 1852 writes: "The most of the silver ornaments in later years have been made by

⁶ *Johnson papers*, III, 532.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VIII, 274.

⁸ R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *The Jesuit relations and allied documents, 1610-1791* (Cleveland, 1896-1901), LXX, 97.

⁹ *Ibid.*, LXX, 149.

Indian silversmiths, one of whom may be found in nearly every Indian village. They are either made of brass and silver, or from silver coins pounded out and then cut into patterns by metallic instruments." This is confirmed by Mr. Beauchamp from his own observations.¹⁰ But the assumption that most of the Indian silver was of Indian manufacture is not justified. Trade silver was imported in large quantities; much was made by Montreal silversmiths and a good deal by various American makers; and Montreal, as headquarters of the fur trade, was naturally also a centre for the manufacture and distribution of these silver ornaments.

RAMSAY TRAQUAIR

McGill University.

¹⁰Beauchamp, *Metallic ornaments*, 36.

NOTE: Since the above was written I have read an article by Mr. H. E. Gillingham on "Indian ornaments made by Philadelphia silversmiths" (Heye Foundation, N.Y., 1937). Mr. Gillingham shows that between 1758 and 1763 a large number of silver trade ornaments were made by Philadelphia silversmiths. Amongst these were "Heart broaches". This indicates that the "Luckenbooth" brooch was introduced into the Indian trade even before the English conquest of Canada and that this pattern was being made by American silversmiths. Unfortunately no actual example of this pattern by a Philadelphia silversmith has been identified. A few evident copies have been found but the examples in the McCord Museum are identical with the Scottish examples. [R. T.]

THE NEWSPAPERS OF UPPER CANADA A CENTURY AGO¹

THE history of journalism in Upper Canada may perhaps be said to have begun during the 1820's. By 1825 such editors as Hugh C. Thomson, John Carey, William Lyon Mackenzie, and Francis Collins, who were destined to play a leading part in the Upper Canadian newspaper field, had appeared on the scene and before 1830 they were joined by Hiram Leavenworth, George Gurnett, Thomas Dalton, and Egerton Ryerson. The decade of the thirties opened with a well-established press, the most important papers being the *Gleaner of Niagara*, the *Courier of Upper Canada*, the *Colonial advocate*, the *Canadian freeman*, and the *Christian guardian* of York, the *Farmers' journal* of St. Catharines, and the *Patriot* then of Kingston. These papers and many lesser known ones began to exert a really important influence on the rapidly changing social, economic, and political life of Upper Canada, but although they played a large part in that turbulent decade, there has been no thorough study of them.² To the resident of Upper Canada they were the chief means of informing him as to the news and political opinions in his province and keeping him in touch with the outside world: to readers of to-day they are an unequalled source of information on many aspects of Canada's social, economic, and political life a century ago.

The newspapers of a century ago contained but little news as we think of it. As practically all were weeklies, local news must have been generally known before the paper appeared. This left space for English, American, and European news and the political news of the Upper Canadian capital. English news was always six weeks late in the York (Toronto) newspapers. An item such as that which appeared in the *Christian guardian* of March 19, 1834, "We have English news to the 29th of January" is typical. As there were no news services and reporters, except in the case of

¹This paper was read in its original form before the Waterloo County Historical Society on October 29, 1937. The *Patriot* and *Royal standard* were consulted in the Toronto Public Reference Library and the *St. Catharines journal* in the Public Archives of Canada. All other newspapers to which reference is made are preserved in the Ontario Archives.

²A valuable pioneer article is "The periodical literature of Upper Canada" by W. S. Wallace in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XII, March, 1931. Mr. Wallace gives a practically complete list of the newspapers of Upper Canada with the years of publication of each, the places of deposit of the best extant files, etc.

political debates which we shall notice later, Upper Canadian editors depended for the most part on their exchanges, from which they made copious extracts. They were not above altering quotations on occasion to suit their own points of view. The *Correspondent and advocate* of January 28, 1836, contained an article on the departure of Sir John Colborne from Toronto. When the item was reprinted, with due acknowledgement, in the *Bathurst courier* of February 5, a surprisingly short time after, the last line was: "Never did we witness such an immense assemblage." The original article had ended: "Never did we witness such an assemblage of long-visaged Tories. They appeared as if they were following the hearse of conservatism to the grave."

The amount of political news printed must be taken as evidence that the people of Upper Canada were keenly interested in political discussion. This conclusion is supported by statements in the newspapers themselves. The *Cobourg star*, on May 3, 1831, reported that "The extraordinary and sweeping system of Reform proposed by the new Ministry [in England], which is now pending in the House of Commons, continues the engrossing subject of almost every conversation—and it may well do so; for certainly a measure involving to a greater extent the interests of all classes of the Empire never yet occupied the attention of a British Legislature". On January 9, 1835, the *Bathurst courier* complained: "The most of the Upper Canada papers contain little of moment, except the absorbing topic of conversation and enquiry, the New Ministry."

There was an air of informality about the editors when they were addressing the public which shows that the press was a local institution and the editor was well known in the community. It is hard to imagine that a modern newspaper would make the admission which appeared on June 30, 1832, in the *Courier of Upper Canada*: "We would apologize to our Patrons—and we ought to have done so before—for the very scanty supply of news which has been presented to them of late in the columns of the *Courier*, owing to the great increase of our advertising business." Nor was this an exceptional case, for the *Cornwall observer* of November 28, 1836, when business was at a low ebb in Upper Canada, explained: "An unusual press of advertisements must plead our apology for editorial to-day. Our remarks were in type, but for want of room [we] were obliged to omit them." Five weeks later the *Cornwall observer*, on January 2, 1837, was again forced to apologize: "Our readers must bear with us for our lack of matter

in to-day's paper; for the fact is, such a quantity of job work has been occupying us for some days past, and for which we were quite unprepared, that it has only been with great exertions that we have been able to issue our paper on the usual day. This circumstance, we trust, will also account for the non-appearance [of] the customary 'New Year's Address'." In view of the fact that there had been no address in the previous year, the word "customary" was not well chosen, in the case of the *Observer*, at least.

Press of advertisements and job work were not the only causes of omitted editorials. The absence of the editor or his serving on a jury were common explanations for the non-appearance of an editorial column.³ When at his desk the average Upper Canadian editor wrote editorials which more than compensated for the times they were omitted, if invective be a virtue in editorial writing. Some editors realized the low level of editorial writing and strove to improve conditions. The *True patriot*, published in London, lamented that the press of Canada generally, but more particularly of the upper province was more degraded than the press of any other country. On February 7, 1834, the *Patriot* of Toronto, which, if not a leader, was not far behind the leaders in the type of journalism complained of, denied the allegation in general but admitted that there were individuals who had perverted the press. The editor of the *Bathurst courier* had the same opinion as the *True patriot* and on October 3, 1834, summed up the situation by saying that "Billingsgate is thread bare at both Toronto and Kingston". It is impossible to single out any one paper as the worst offender in this type of journalism and it would be invidious to attempt to do so. Dalton of the *Patriot*, Gurnett of the *Courier of Upper Canada*, and William Lyon Mackenzie at one time and another reached great heights, or depths. But the press outside Toronto was equally virulent. When the *Canadian correspondent* and the *Advocate* combined in 1834, and Mackenzie for a time stopped publishing a paper, the *Kingston chronicle* had the following to say: "After having heard two or more 'dying speeches' from the editor, his journal is at last merged in a kindred receptacle of deceit and disaffection; and the union is to be known as the *Correspondent & Advocate*—a more natural but not less odious result than that produced by the poetical connection of Death and Sin. It is as if the corporation of our metropolitan city had

³*St. Catharines journal*, Oct. 12, 19, 26, Nov. 2, 1837; *Courier of Upper Canada*, June 20, July 7, 11, 21, 26, 1832; *Correspondent and advocate*, Nov. 5, 1835.

directed that one common sewer should carry the dirt formerly conveyed by two."⁴

If editors were bitter they had much justification. Their business required a fair amount of capital and much hard work, for which they received very small return. The *Courier of Upper Canada* of October 13, 1832, reprinted an article from the *Montreal herald* which described some of the difficulties of editors in Upper and Lower Canada:

Any individual is at liberty to commence a publication when and where he pleases; but it is one thing to issue a prospectus, and another to establish a journal, particularly in a district where there are many existing. The returns on newspapers in Canada, would not be sufficient to pay the expenses were it not for the advertisements: and in order to insure a good supply of the latter, an extensive circulation is necessary. The risk is great, and the chances are much against a new publication, (unless under very peculiar circumstances) for a considerable outlay is certain, while a return of that outlay is equally uncertain.

Circulation was small and postal rates were high. On December 9, 1830, the *Colonial advocate* contained a reference to its "extensive circulation". Subscribers in the town and county of York alone averaged four or five hundred. Two days later the *Christian guardian* announced that 1,600 copies were being printed each week. The *Correspondent and advocate*, on November 13, 1834, had a circulation of 1,400 and the *Constitution*, on December 28, 1836, had 1,250. These were the leading newspapers of the province. Many in the smaller towns and villages could not have had more than three or four hundred subscribers. On each paper, sent by mail, publishers were supposed to pay four shillings postage. However, the comparative circulation of the various papers cannot be discovered from the returns of the postal department because many papers were delivered by carrier and because few paid the full amount. The *Christian guardian* of October 23, 1833, quoted an extract from the *Kingston chronicle*: "in our opinion there are very few papers beside the *Christian Guardian*, that pay the full amount of their postage."

One of the greatest difficulties which a proprietor faced was the collection of subscriptions. When, on December 21, 1833, MacKenzie published a prospectus of the *Advocate*, which succeeded the *Colonial advocate*, he stated that the experience of ten years had taught him that from at least one half the papers sent into the country no return could be expected. When the thirty-second number of the *Cobourg star* appeared on August 16, 1831, the

⁴Reprinted in the *Correspondent and advocate*, Nov. 27, 1834.

editor announced that not more than one-fourth of the subscribers had paid for the first six months. The complaint was common in all newspapers. The failure of a large percentage of the subscribers to pay, combined with the small circulation and heavy postage rates, worked great hardship on the printer.

Of course, there was something to be said for the subscribers who had little money with which to pay the comparatively high subscription rates. The usual subscription was \$4.00 currency, or 20 shillings per year, for which the subscriber received a four-page paper once a week. To-day the customary weekly newspaper subscription in Ontario is \$2.00 and the subscriber receives not less than eight, and usually more, pages a week. In terms of commodities the contrast is even greater, for a dollar had a much greater purchasing power a century ago than it has to-day. Then the subscription of a newspaper represented about fifty or sixty pounds of beef or about twenty-five pounds of butter, whereas now a subscription to a weekly paper represents about eight pounds of beef or six pounds of butter.⁵

In order to carry on, newspaper proprietors encouraged subscribers by offering to accept produce in lieu of cash. Such advertisements were common. The *Cornwall observer* of December 18, 1835, advertised: "Our wood paying subscribers will please send us a few cords of wood at their earliest convenience"; the *Hallowell free press* of November 4, 1833, advertised that butter would be taken in payment, and the *St. Catharines journal*, on January 26, 1837, offered two and one half cents per pound for "clean linen and cotton paper rags". In fact Canadian newspaper proprietors seemed pleased with the possibility of receiving any commodity whatever.

In spite of the barter method of paying subscriptions and the revenue derived from job printing and advertisements, the mortality rate of Upper Canadian newspapers was high. The *Christian guardian* of September 23, 1835, remarked for example: "We have received . . . the first number of *The Express*, published in Hamilton, Gore District, by S. Brega, one of the editors of the late *Western Mercury*. If it exist long it will be more favoured than its numerous predecessors in that place. We believe no less than eight public journals have commenced and terminated their

⁵*Correspondent and advocate*, May 11, 1836, showed that Toronto prices current for May 10, 1836 were: Beef per lb., 4d. to 5d. currency; hardwood per cord, 10s. to 12s. 6d.; hay per ton, 55s. to 60s.; eggs per doz., 5d. to 6d.; cheese per lb., 5d. to 7d.; apples per bus., 2s. to 3s. 9d.; butter per lb., 10d. to 11d.; hams per lb., 5d. to 7d.; mutton per lb., 4d. to 7d.; veal per lb., 5d.; pork per lb., 4d.

existence in Hamilton within six years past." The Niagara district, "one of the most populous" in the province, did not support the press better than Hamilton. In 1833, according to a prospectus of the *Niagara reporter*, printed in the *Hallowell free press* of March 12, there were then only three papers being published in the Niagara peninsula, the *Niagara gleaner*, the *St. Catharines journal*, and the *St. Catharines mirror*, although within the previous eight years the *Canadian*, the *Niagara herald*, the *Spirit of the times*, and the *Niagara literary miscellany* had been established but had disappeared, some of them "in their infancy", a "catastrophe" not anticipated by the proprietor of the *Niagara reporter*.

When not beset by financial difficulties a publisher had mechanical difficulties to overcome. Accidents in the printing shop caused delays and necessitated apologies by the editor. On November 4, 1833, the *Hallowell free press* contained the following note, which shows the shifts to which printers were often forced: "We have to apologise for the late appearance of to-days paper, and the awkward appearance presented by our third page, in which the same advertisements appear as on the fourth. We trust, we shall succeed in satisfying our readers, as well as those who have made our paper the medium of their advertisements, by stating, that just as our third page was being put to press, an accident happened by which the types were completely broken up, or to use the technical term, made PI of." In a country, too, where communications were as bad as they were in Upper Canada it was inevitable that a printer's supply of ink or paper should at some time or another fail to arrive. In such cases no newspaper appeared unless supplies could be found in the community. On December 15, 1837, the *Bathurst courier* appeared with an explanation that the ink used had been manufactured in the office, as the usual supply had not arrived. We cannot speak for the legibility of the newspaper when it first appeared but after a century we can only conclude that the proprietor had much to learn of the art of making ink.

Paper was manufactured in the province and as early as December 11, 1830, the *Christian guardian* was able to report: "The Paper Manufacturers near this town have received their large Imperial Moulds, and our paper is this week enlarged to its intended size." Newspapers occasionally, however, could not secure a supply. As late as November 6, 1838, the *Cornwall observer* apologized: "If our friends do not see the *Observer* until

the Thursday after the one coming they need not be disappointed—Our supply of paper from Montreal has not come to hand yet, although we saw the invoice of it ten days ago.” A further complaint of some editors was that the Upper Canadian product was inferior to, and cost more than, the imported. Mackenzie, in the *Constitution*, June 7, 1837, stated:

We are sorry to present our readers with so coarse paper, but it really is not our fault. No news establishment in British America pays so high a price as we do for paper. Yet nineteen-twentieths of our exchanges are printed on a fairer quality, and news-paper such as we pay Eastwood & Skinner here 6 doll'rs a ream for, can be had on the opposite side of the lake at 4¼ doll'rs, 6 months credit. The duty of 30 per cent. however, levied on us by Britain, gives the paper maker here not only a monopoly, but a monopoly of the most irksome character. Do, Canadians, clean your firelocks and fight like game cocks to get yourselves taxed to uphold the tax gatherer at 30 per cent.

The condition of the paper after one hundred years belies the first objection for it is still in good condition and would be a credit to any modern paper mill.

After seeing this picture of the newspapers, and in view of the illiteracy which is generally acknowledged to have prevailed in Upper Canada, we may well wonder what influence the press could have had on public opinion prior to 1837. Such power as the press exerted was enhanced by the innumerable taverns in the province, where the contents of one newspaper, probably much distorted by repetition and discussion, could influence several score of non-readers. The importance of the taverns in disseminating political opinions was recognized by contemporary observers. One anonymous traveller, whose letter to the *Montreal herald* was copied in the *Patriot* of September 11, 1838, described “bar-rooms of taverns” as “hot beds of sedition and treason” where seven-eighths of all the misery entailed upon the colony had been hatched. Mrs. Jameson declared that “taverns and low drinking houses” were practically the only places of assembly or amusement in Upper Canada.⁶ That taverns must have been well patronized is shown by the fact that in 1835, when the population of Upper Canada was 346,165, official reports show that 947 tavern licences were granted. (If this figure seems low, it might be added that there were also 407 shopkeepers licensed to “retail spirituous liquors”).⁷ At the same time about 20,000 newspapers (consisting of some thirty titles) were printed each week.

⁶Anna Jameson, *Winter studies and summer rambles* (New York, 1839), I, 293.

⁷*Appendix to the journals of the house of assembly of Upper Canada*, session 1836-7 (Toronto, 1837), appendix 4, sub-appendix E; *ibid.*, session 1836 (Toronto, 1836), I, no. 26, pp. 28, 19.

In spite of the difficulties of communication which affected trade and travel, news and newspapers appear to have circulated with considerable freedom. The speed with which cholera travelled through Upper Canada in 1832 and 1834 is, for example, striking evidence that there must have been a constant movement of people and thus also of ideas through the province. The *Courier of Upper Canada*, on June 16, 1832, reported that cholera had broken out in Quebec on June 8, and by July 26 the *Colonial advocate* was able to report that it had appeared "in London, Detroit, St. Thomas, Goderich, Newmarket, Cold Water [*sic*], at the Narrows of Lake Simcoe [Orillia], at Hallowell [Picton], Cobourg, Niagara and in fact almost, or quite every place of any note in the province". From all the evidence which is available it is safe to assume that the inhabitants of Upper Canada from 1830 to 1837 were fairly well informed on local and European events.

How far people were influenced, however, by what they read, or were told had appeared, in the newspapers, is a difficult question to answer. As the *Christian guardian*, for several years had the largest circulation and was the most widely quoted newspaper in Upper Canada, it probably had the greatest influence. Unfortunately the conclusion drawn from the premises by a *Guardian* correspondent, on January 1, 1834 that "Perhaps the population of no British Colony stands upon a level with that of Upper Canada in point of intelligence and moral feeling" does not follow. That the press of Upper Canada strongly influenced the political situation was commonly agreed. As early as 1832 the *Courier of Upper Canada*, the organ of the family compact party, declared, on April 28:

Taking advantage of the power of his press, he [Mackenzie] has reiterated his political clamors, until they have made a strong impression upon the imaginations of those who confided in his opinions; and who had no source of political information, other than his *Colonial Advocate* conveyed. Had the *Colonial Advocate* praised the Constitution of Upper Canada, and spoken well of the present men in power, I have no doubt but the majority of Mr. Mackenzie's admirers would this day, have been as loud in favor of the Constitution and Government, as they are now obstinately opposed to both.

Mrs. Jameson's opinion of the newspapers was not higher than her opinion of other things Canadian, but she fully recognized their influence:

In the absence or scarcity of books, they are the principal medium of knowledge and communication in Upper Canada. There is no stamp-act here—no duty on paper; and I have sometimes thought that the great number of local newspapers

which do not circulate beyond their own little town or district, must, from the vulgar, narrow tone of them, do mischief; but on the whole, perhaps, they do more good. Paragraphs printed from English or American papers, on subjects of general interest, the summary of political events, extracts from books or magazines, are copied from one paper into another, till they have travelled round the country. It is true that a great deal of base, vulgar, inflammatory party feeling is also circulated by the same means; but, on the whole, I should not like to see the number or circulation of the district papers checked.⁸

To historical students newspapers are now an invaluable source of information, especially when lengthy files are available. With regard to political developments the reports of legislative debates are probably the most important feature of the newspapers of that period. As there was no *Hansard* in Upper Canada and the journals of the legislature give only a bare account of the business carried on, we are entirely dependent on newspaper reports for information as to what, and how much, was said on the floor of the assembly. These reports contain a surprisingly large amount of material on almost every question of public importance. As to the methods used in reporting and the accuracy of the reports, suggestions are given in the discussions of the assembly on the paying of reporters. On January 13, 1834, Peter Perry, member of Lennox and Addington, was reported by the *Christian guardian*, of January 15, as saying: "As for the *Guardian*, the reports in it are just cut and carved to suit purposes." The *Canadian correspondent*, of January 18, reported: "As for the *Christian Guardian*, it cuts its reports just to suit the Editor." This attack enabled Egerton Ryerson, who was editor of the *Christian guardian* at the time, to reply with an editorial, on January 22, discussing his views of the proper aims of newspapers in reporting the debates:

The primary and obvious design of Parliamentary reporting, is to give a fair view of the *sentiments* and *reasonings* of speakers, and the *proceedings* of Parliament. This doubtless includes the words of the leading propositions of speakers, and the substance of their arguments, (correctly given;) together with motions of members on all important subjects,—but certainly not the empty verbiage or squabbles of the house, or all matters of limited local interest; which would neither be creditable to members, nor interesting to readers, nor beneficial to the public. That reporter, then, whose recollection, and knowledge, and grasp of mind, enables him to exhibit a faithful and lucid view of a subject in fewest words, in narrating its discussion, is the most competent; and that speaker who says most in fewest words, and speaks on important subjects, will have most reported in proportion to what he says; whilst when one speaker merely repeats what another has said, and perhaps less comprehensively and happily, it seems to be quite enough to say that Mr. Echo agreed with Mr. Sound, and that Mr. Tail followed Mr. Head on the same side.

⁸Jameson, *Winter studies and summer rambles*, I, 190.

This is a fair description of the policy of the *Christian guardian* and probably of other newspapers. Such a statement carries more weight when printed in the *Christian guardian* for that paper, on November 12, 1834, made the claim, which is borne out by reference to the newspapers themselves, that in 1833 it furnished most of the provincial papers with their parliamentary intelligence, as its reports were the most comprehensive and complete published in the province.

Comparison of the reports of the proceedings of one day in different papers indicates that they were reasonably accurate, in spite of the fact there were always members who complained that they had been ignored or misquoted. Of course, the summaries given are not as valuable as complete verbatim reports would be for occasionally a reader finds reports like the following: "The Reporter very much regrets that he cannot give the speech of Mr. McNab in favour of paying reporters, nor that of Messrs. Samson and Berczy against it"; "The business of this day was of little public importance"; or, "Mr. Bockus spoke against the motion but only a few words of what he said could be heard."⁹

The most pretentious effort to provide readers with reports of debates came with the establishment of the first Upper Canadian daily newspaper, the *Royal standard*, on November 9, 1836. The aim of the publishers was to publish a paper daily during the session and tri-weekly at other times. The paper only ran for fifty-six numbers, when it expired. Among the debates reported by the *Royal standard* were some on the question of the payment of reporters but nothing was said which had not been said in 1834.

The fact that reporters, on occasion, were paid for their efforts did not make the reports official. The editors and proprietors were free to print what they saw fit and if a reporter was unable to be present in the house the debates so missed were omitted. In 1836 Cull and Osborne of the *Royal standard* petitioned the assembly for £25 towards the expense they had incurred in establishing their daily paper. They agreed to provide the editors or proprietors of all Toronto newspapers, who might apply for them, with "proof slips" of each column of the reports from the *Royal standard*. Although a select committee recommended that three reporters be paid to supply the *Royal standard* with "full, true, and faithful" reports and that the £25 petitioned for be paid to Cull and Osborne, the recommendation was not ap-

⁹*Christian guardian*, Jan. 8, 15, 1834; *Royal standard*, Nov. 26, 1836.

proved in the house. Had the recommendation been accepted, the uniform reports supplied to all newspapers would have been practically official.¹⁰

The newspapers provide the political historian with much more than is contained in the debates, for, with the exception of certain political pamphlets, which were themselves the product of newspaper presses, they are often the sole or chief information on the aims and attitudes of political leaders or groups. Ryerson, Strachan, and William Morris were leading pamphleteers but even in their cases reference to the newspapers is necessary.¹¹ For lesser known political leaders newspapers are invaluable. An illustration of this may be found in the obituary of Joseph Shepard, whom Mackenzie called, in the *Constitution* of May 10, 1837, the father of reform in Upper Canada. Shepard was a miller and farmer on Yonge street and it was he, according to Mackenzie who led the "country party" in the Home district. Shepard began his political career in 1809 when he was chairman of a meeting of the free-holders of York county "to endeavour to obtain justice for Judge Thorpe". At six successive county elections he proposed Mackenzie's name and in 1834 was nominated for the first riding of York but withdrew in favour of David Gibson. Yet it is doubtful if his career, which appears to have been identified with reform for almost twenty years, is discussed in any place but in his obituary.¹²

Newspapers show the political attitudes of groups as well as individuals. In the early thirties the attitude of the tory party was probably most clearly stated by Dr. R. D. Hamilton of Scarborough, who wrote under the *nom de plume* of Guy Pollock, blacksmith. His articles printed in the *Courier of Upper Canada* aimed to show "that the people of Upper Canada, instead of complaining of grievances, have more abundant causes for being satisfied with the government under which they live, than any other people on the face of the earth".¹³ Some tory newspapers objected to the adoption of the name reformers by that group in

¹⁰ *Journal of the house of assembly of Upper Canada*, session 1836-7 (Toronto, 1837), 84-5, 93-5.

¹¹ Newspapers have been extensively used in two recent studies: C. B. Sissons, *Egerton Ryerson, his life and times* (Toronto, 1937); R. A. MacKay, "The political ideas of William Lyon Mackenzie" (*Canadian journal of economics and political science*, III, Feb., 1937).

¹² Joseph Shepard was born of Irish parents, in New Hampshire on August 10, 1767, and died on May 3, 1837. He settled in York county in 1793, after having spent some time on the bay of Quinte.

¹³ William Canniff, *The medical profession in Upper Canada, 1783-1850* (Toronto, 1894), 409; *Courier of Upper Canada*, Feb. 29, 1832.

Upper Canada, for they argued that even if the reformers of England, after whom the Upper Canadian group had christened themselves, obtained the utmost extent of their demands, representation in England would not be as equitable as it was in Canada. The *Courier of Upper Canada*, on April 18, 1832, reprinted an article from the *Western mercury* which suggested that a better name would be "deformers" because they demanded changes which would "utterly destroy the beauty and harmony of the British Constitution". The *Courier of Upper Canada* followed this a week later with an extract from the *Cobourg star* on the "absurd and most unwarrantable assumption of the name of Reformers, by the leading agents of revolution in this province".

The majority of newspapers prior to 1837 appears to have been tory, or at least opposed to Mackenzie, who published the following interesting analysis in the *Advocate* of June 26, 1834:

It can, moreover, no longer be a matter of doubt that the provincial periodical press and its conductors, are strongly opposed to reform and honest liberal responsible Government. The *Kingsion Chronicle and Herald*, *U. C. Gazette*, *Hallowell Free Press*, *St. Thomas's Journal*, *Niagara Reporter and Gleaner*, *True Patriot*, and *Port Hope Warder* are avowed Tory papers—and the *Western Mercury*, *York Patriot*, *Courier*, *Guardian*, *Freeman*, *Dundas Weekly Post*, *Sandwich Emigrant*, *Cornwall Observer*, *Cobourg Star* and *Standard of Moira* may be truly named (in plain language) blackguard Tory. The *Canadian Wesleyan*, the organ of the Ryan Methodists, is of the thorough stamp; and the *Hamilton Free Press*, conducted by Mr. S. Randal, a scholar brought to Upper Canada as his protégé by the Bishop of Quebec, steadily inclines towards the same party and creed. These presses issue, on a moderate computation, 12000 copies a week, while the *Brockville Recorder*, *Kingsion Spectator*, *Advocate*, *Reformer*, *Correspondent*, and *Liberal*, the only six papers on the Reform side, publish not more than a third of that number. As for the *Kingsion Whig*, *Grenville Gazette*, and *St. Catharines Journal*, we decline classing them. Judging by some of their late publications they are very little to be depended upon on the eve of an election.

This seems to be a fair description of the situation in 1834 but many editors would not have agreed. For example the *St. Catharines journal* and the *Christian guardian* did not support Mackenzie although they were truly liberal papers. The *Bathurst courier*, which began publication soon after Mackenzie's list was printed and therefore does not appear in it, undoubtedly spoke for many of the liberal newspapers of Upper Canada when, on August 7, 1835, the editor wrote: "We say we are true Reformers; and we declare solemnly, we consider the *Advocate* the most scurrilous, the most profane infidel, blackguard publication, we ever read; and cannot think that true Reformers will longer suffer it to be the organ of their party."

Since unfortunately the papers of the clerk of the crown in chancery have not been preserved,¹⁴ newspapers are the only source in which we can find the details of the Upper Canadian elections. In most cases the names of successful candidates are to be found in the journals of the legislature, but for the names of defeated candidates, the number of votes polled, the majorities, and the conduct of the electors we are entirely dependent on newspaper sources. Even the newspaper accounts are not always as complete as we would wish. In reading them one is struck by evidence of the restricted franchise and the small number of votes cast. For example the *Canadian correspondent* of October 11 and 18, 1834, reports that the results of the election of that month were as follows in the York constituencies: James Small, the reform candidate, in Toronto, city, received 260 votes and his opponent Sheriff Jarvis, 252; in the second riding of York, Mackenzie received 334 and his opponent 178; in the third riding Morrison received 263 votes and Fothergill 113; and in the fourth riding Mackintosh received 146 and Smalley 40. The returns in other ridings and the majorities were comparable.

The newspapers give by all means the most vivid available accounts of the turbulence which so often marked the elections of the 1830's. The accounts even when coloured by political sympathies give without doubt an accurate impression of the frequent disorders which were quite out of proportion to the number of votes cast. The *Bathurst courier* of October 17, 1834, reported that the Leeds election had been contested on the ground that "with their [the successful candidates'] previous knowledge and consent, a number of their friends came to the ground prepared with bludgeons and determined to keep all back who did not wish to vote as they did—which they fully put into effect by beating and abusing the oldest, most respectable, and most peaceable inhabitants of the country". In Toronto during the same election one man was killed.¹⁵ In 1792 David William Smyth, a candidate in the riding of Essex and Suffolk in the first Upper Canadian election, had observed that "the more broken heads & bloody noses there is the more election like"¹⁶—a dictum which appears to have summed up the situation in Upper Canada for many years.

The accounts of political meetings which were frequently held

¹⁴A search has not brought them to light in the Public Archives of Canada or in the Ontario Archives. I am indebted to Dr. J. F. Kenney for having the former search made.

¹⁵*Canadian correspondent*, Oct. 11, 1834.

¹⁶M. M. Quaife (ed.), *The John Askin papers* (Detroit, 1928), I, 427.

during the thirties, show that they also often ended in disorder. The *Colonial advocate* and *Courier of Upper Canada*, of March 28, 1832, described a meeting which took place in Hamilton on March 19, during which, according to the *Courier* "a last year's goose-egg (providentially found that morning in an old nest)" was thrown at Caleb Hopkins. The reform group then left the meeting and held one of their own. Later in the evening, according to the *Colonial advocate*, a daring attempt was made to murder Mackenzie. In spite of the discrepancies in the two accounts, it is clear that there was much rioting. Nor were political meetings the only rowdy ones. The *St. Catharines journal* of October 22, 1835, described a "bloody and disgraceful affray" between a party of Irishmen and several sturdy country people, which began in an oyster-cellar, during which one man was killed. The newspapers make it clear that prior to 1837 there was a tradition of turbulence and rowdyism in Upper Canada which must have made armed rebellion something of a frolic.

Since there was no official registration of births, marriages, and deaths in Ontario until 1869 and a very small percentage of parish registers has been preserved, newspapers are practically the only source of information on vital statistics. Editors appear to have regarded information of this kind as important, but they used little discrimination in what they printed. The death of a centenarian in England received the same prominence as that of some local celebrity. The five death notices in the *Colonial advocate* of April 5, 1832, form a not exceptional list. The first was that of a daughter of a York citizen, the second the lieutenant-governor of Lower Canada, the third a woman in England who had died within a few months of 110 and whose youngest child was 84, the fourth a man who had died at Brighton while dining with the king, and the fifth a woman who had died in England and was included because after being maintained by the parish for many years she was on her death found to possess £200. The practice of copying such notices from other newspapers sometimes led to the dissemination of inaccurate information. On September 7, 1832, the *Cobourg reformer* announced the death of Charles Fothergill, sometime publisher of the *Upper Canada gazette*. The item was copied in the *Colonial advocate* and other papers and was denied in the *Courier of Upper Canada* of September 15. Fothergill lived to establish the *Palladium of Upper Canada* in 1837. In spite of occasional inaccuracies, however, the newspapers contained a great deal of

valuable information with regard to individuals which cannot be found in any other source.

Newspaper files are of obvious value to the student of economic, local, social, and ecclesiastical history and therefore little comment is needed here. New York, Montreal, and Upper Canadian prices were regularly published, as well as information on stage and steamboat routes, schedules, and fares; agriculture and crops; the theatre and other amusements; clothing; food; books; the temperance movement; retail business; disease; crime; industry and so forth. On November 10, 1832, Charles Perry, of York (Toronto) advertised¹⁷ that he had added to his establishment equipment for the manufacture of printing presses combining the latest improvements. Reference has already been made to the manufacture of newsprint. By 1836 it was only necessary to import type for the production of newspapers. When the *Royal standard* appeared in November it was announced that the press had been wholly made in Toronto by Mason and Barber, machinists, and the casting done by Norton. The paper used came from James Crooks of Flamborough. "We want but a Type Manufactory, which we shall doubtless soon have, to make us wholly independent of our neighbours in the States for everything connected with a Printing Establishment", the *Royal standard* concluded. Many similar illustrations might be added.

Considering the number of newspapers which were printed in Upper Canada from 1830 to 1837, a very small number of papers, let alone files, has been preserved. The loss is reduced by the fact that much information was reprinted by several newspapers. Thus, although the only copy of the first newspaper printed in London, the *Sun*, is preserved in the corner stone of a western Ontario church, several extracts from its numbers are to be found in the *Courier of Upper Canada*. However, the fragments of any newspaper preserved in this way give but a tithe of the information which a broken file or even a few scattered numbers would.

Modern inexpensive photographic methods can do much to remedy the present condition. The cost would not be prohibitive if some central agency undertook to photograph every existing Upper Canadian newspaper in private or public possession. Libraries could then have copies at very little expense. Only some such method will save these papers from destruction through carelessness or constant use.

The Ontario Archives, Toronto.

J. J. TALMAN

¹⁷In the *Courier of Upper Canada*.

THE PRESS OF THE MARITIME PROVINCES IN THE 1830's

We profess to be *Colonial* and not merely *Nova Scotian* Patriots (*Colonial Patriot*, July 22, 1829).

The interests of the Provinces being so closely connected, it becomes a duty with each to endeavour after an intimate acquaintance with the others, to pay much attention to their internal regulations, and to the manner of dealing with them which the parent country adopts (*Acadian Recorder*, Dec. 10, 1831).

While discussing Novascotian affairs, we lost no opportunity of sympathizing in the struggles of our neighbours, so far as they seemed to be contending for sound principles, and the advantages of economical and responsible Government (*Novascotian*, Jan. 9, 1840).

THE newspapers of the 1830's, perhaps more than those of any other period, reflected and influenced life in the Maritime Provinces. Their wide circulation had never been attained or even approached by the publications of previous years. Only within the past decade had any appreciable advance been made in overcoming the illiteracy and apathy of the general public, or had changes come about in the old and uncertain means of communication. Not until 1828 and later did the progress of education,¹ the rise of local patriotism, and the gradual growth of social, economic, and political unrest create a demand for more and better newspapers. At the same time, the advent of stage coaches and steamships facilitated the gathering of news and the distribution of papers.² Small wonder, then, that the 1830's witnessed the rise of a popular, powerful press. In later years, paradoxically enough, frequency of publication and delivery, fast and safe ways of travel, even the increase of literacy and intelligence, lessened the influence that newspapers had formerly enjoyed when their arrival in isolated communities was hailed as an event of some consequence. There is no need to question the historical value of these early papers. They present a field of research as wide as life itself. No student of the history of the Maritime Provinces, if his interest be in the 1830's, can afford to overlook them. Not only are they almost the sole source of information on many important problems of that period, but they give a variety of views on nearly every aspect of provincial

¹D. C. Harvey, "The intellectual awakening of Nova Scotia" (*Dalhousie review*, XIII, April, 1933). The wide background of Professor Harvey's general knowledge has been a source of continual inspiration and fact during the preparation of this article.

²A few stage coaches, but no steamships, ran for short distances before 1828.

activity. Besides this, they present, with a clearness that is not always discernible in documents, the play of outside influences upon local developments. Their editors, while not neglecting affairs at home, were essentially cosmopolitan in their outlook. They filled column after column with European, British, American, and colonial news which they discussed at length in their editorials. Their curiosity about their colonial neighbours is especially striking. The Nova Scotians, in particular, ever conscious of their position as the senior British colonists, followed the Canadian situation with close concern, well aware that its repercussions were bound to affect the Atlantic provinces one way or another. That this early interest in the upper provinces could have changed within the next thirty years to indifference and even distrust is not as surprising as it seems. The seeds of the deep-rooted opposition to confederation in the 1860's were being sown in the 1830's. The more the sea-minded bluenoses learned about the inland Canadians, the more smugly satisfied they were with their own moderation and decorum and the more convinced some of them were that the nineteenth century belonged to the Maritime Provinces.

The newspapers read in preparing this study were found in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia and the Legislative Library at Halifax.³ With the exception of a few scattered issues of the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island papers, they were all published in Nova Scotia. It is unfortunate, perhaps, that circumstances prevented any research being done in the other two provinces, but the files of the New Brunswick journals are far from complete, and only one of the three or four Prince Edward Island publications has survived intact.³ Visits to the New Brunswick Museum and the Free Public Library at Saint John and the Legislative Libraries in Fredericton and Charlottetown would undoubtedly have proved very profitable, but they were less necessary after discovering that the news and the views of the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island editors appeared regularly in the columns of their contemporaries in Nova Scotia. Besides frequent quotations and many references to, and comments on, the press of the sister colonies, Nova Scotian papers carried correspondence and contributions from all points in the Maritime Provinces. The combined result enables one to follow without difficulty the trend of opinion in both New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island.

³See appendix for lists and dates of papers.

Although at least twenty papers were published intermittently in the three Atlantic colonies between 1752 and 1812, the press of that period was never truly popular, widely influential, or distinctively native. Eleven of these papers appeared in the pre-loyalist and loyalist towns of Halifax, Lunenburg, and Shelburne in Nova Scotia. Their circulation was small and only three of them, the *Halifax Gazette* and the later *Halifax journal* and *Halifax Weekly chronicle*, continued far into the nineteenth century.⁴ The six loyalist journals of Saint John and Fredericton in New Brunswick fared little better than their counterparts in Nova Scotia.⁵ The *Royal gazette* survived, and the *City gazette* of Saint John, which did not begin publication until 1811, succeeded in reaching the 1830's. A similar story might be told of the four papers published in Charlottetown for the small population of Prince Edward Island.⁶ Three of them, including the *Royal herald* supported by sixty subscribers, passed away after a brief existence. The fourth, which, like the *City gazette* of New Brunswick, was not established until 1811, had hopes of living much longer when its editor became king's printer in 1826. The persistence of these early settlers, particularly the loyalists, in establishing newspapers when there was obviously little prospect of success sprang out of their pathetic

⁴The total number of subscribers of these three publications in 1800 is said to have been no more than two thousand (J. J. Stewart, "Early journalism in Nova Scotia", *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, VI, 91-122). In his survey of the early papers in Nova Scotia, Mr. Stewart lists the following: in Halifax, *Halifax gazette* which first appeared in 1752 and later became the *Royal gazette*, *Nova Scotia chronicle and weekly advertiser* (1769-70) which was merged with the *Gazette* in 1770, *Halifax journal* (1781-"about" 1870), *Weekly chronicle* (1786-1826) which became the *Acadian* in 1827 and seems to have continued until the spring of 1837, *Nova Scotia gazette and weekly advertiser* (1801-6), *Halifax telegram* (1807-?), *Novater* (1809-10); in Lunenburg, one paper, printed in German (1787-8); in Shelburne, *Royal American gazette*, which had been published in New York during the American Revolution, *Port Roseway gazette* and the *Shelburne advertiser* which began publication at Shelburne in 1784, *Nova Scotia packet and general advertiser* which was first issued in 1785. All three had ceased publication before the close of the century.

⁵*Royal St. John gazette and Nova Scotia intelligencer* (1783) which became *Royal New Brunswick gazette and general advertiser* in 1784 and, after several further changes in name, finally moved to Fredericton in 1814 as *New Brunswick royal gazette*; *St. John gazette and weekly advertiser* (1785-1807); *New Brunswick chronicle* (1804); *Fredericton journal or telegraph?* (1806); *Gazette and New Brunswick advertiser* (1808?-15?); *City gazette and general advertiser* (1811-35). This list was compiled from information supplied by Dr. A. G. Bailey of the New Brunswick Museum, Miss Estelle Vaughan of the Saint John Free Public Library, and Miss Doreen Harper of the Legislative Library at Fredericton.

⁶*Royal commercial gazette and intelligencer* (1787-90 or before); *Royal gazette and miscellany of the island of St. John* (1791-1800 or before); *Royal herald* (1800-?, "some years"); *Recorder* (1811-25). James Bagnall who conducted the *Recorder* first issued his *Royal gazette* in 1826. With the exception of this last date, which was found in the *Novascotian*, April 19, 1826, the above information was taken from W. L. Cotton, "The Press in Prince Edward Island" (*Past and present of Prince Edward Island*, B. F. Bowen & Co., Charlottetown, n.d.).

endeavour to give to the rude surroundings of the northern provinces a little of the cultural atmosphere of the older colonies; but they might as well have tried to cultivate hothouse plants in a wilderness. The people, engrossed with the many new problems of making a living, were not interested in literary extracts and classical allusions, nor were they ready to make any contributions themselves. The day of intellectual curiosity, local patriotism, and native originality had not dawned in the Maritime Provinces. It awaited the coming of a new generation born and bred in the country.

The rapid rise of the power of the press after the War of 1812 originated in the discovery of young Maritimers—sons of pre-loyalists, loyalists, and Scots—that newspapers were an excellent medium for the expression of their extraordinary thirst after knowledge, their robust pride of country, and their intense dissatisfaction with the old order of things. They were directly responsible for the great majority of the forty odd papers that first saw the light of day in this period.⁷ Some of the new publications, of course, went to the wall within a few years; but others, like Joseph Howe's *Novascotian*, thrived on the strong competition. Before describing the circumstances of their birth and the development of their policies, something should be said of the practical difficulties encountered by their editors and publishers.

The young hopefuls who embarked on a career in journalism a century and more ago soon found that public interest was one thing and public support quite another. Although people were more anxious to read newspapers than they had been before the war, they were often unable to pay for them.⁸ In the country districts, where specie always seemed to be scarce, struggling publishers found it inadvisable to insist on receiving cash. William Milne of the *Colonial patriot* in Pictou, for instance, after spending a few months in jail for debts that he could not pay until he had settled some of his own bad accounts, announced on his release that his agents would henceforth take "payments in Flour, Meal, or Barley, at current cash prices", and he himself "Any kind of merchantable produce" at the office.⁹ James Dawson, who published the *Pictou Bee* a few years later, also informed his readers that "Farm Produce, such as Oatmeal, Flour, and Butter" was

⁷The name of each of these papers will be found in the subsequent text and notes.

⁸The average subscription rate was 15s. a year, plus 2s. 6d. for postage.

⁹*Colonial patriot*, Nov. 18, 1829. He was freed owing to the "friendly interposition" of some faithful supporters.

acceptable in payment for the *Bee*.¹⁰ Even Joseph Howe, the most successful proprietor in the capital, had his trials and troubles over non-paying subscribers. They regard newspapers, he said on one occasion, "like the rain, the air, and the sunshine—common blessings, provided by Providence for the good of all, but for the continuance of which no man need tax his mind or his pocket". In order to disabuse them of this naïve belief, he threatened in 1834, after nearly seven years of silence, that in the future he would take legal action against all accounts of over three years' standing.¹¹ Howe's unexpected move seems to have had some results, but the warnings and concessions of lesser men had little effect on their outstanding accounts which, because of the practice of refusing to stop delivery on papers until bills were paid in full, often outlasted their papers.

Lack of financial support was but one of the many anxieties of publishers. Although party feeling in the Maritime Provinces did not run so high that editors were in danger of losing their ears, as did their unfortunate contemporary of the Newfoundland *Public ledger* who was attacked by common thugs,¹² the weight of dignified officials was always ready to crush them as it had crushed poor Mr. Parsons of the Newfoundland *Patriot*. Only the fact that their fate was left to the judgment of a jury—a privilege that was apparently denied to journalists in Newfoundland—saved them from the heavy sentence that was meted out to Mr. Parsons by the very loyal Chief Justice Boulton.¹³ The freemen of Prince Edward Island led the way to the liberation of the press in the Maritime Provinces. In the summer of 1829, when James Haszard, the proprietor of the *Prince Edward Island register*, was sued for £3,000 damages for publishing an article on the speech of the late Attorney-General Johnston that reflected unfavourably on Mr. Palmer, a local lawyer, the Charlottetown jury within an hour and a half reached the verdict that Mr. Haszard was guilty of publication but not of malicious intent. The court patiently explained the difference between express malice and legal malice,

¹⁰*Bee*, June 15, 1836.

¹¹*Novascotian*, Aug. 7, 1834. Some of Howe's accounts at this time were of five and even six years' standing.

¹²*Acadian recorder*, June 20, 1835. John S. Thompson, when *pro tem.* editor of the *Novascotian* in 1838, referred to the *Public ledger* as a paper "generally, if not uniformly, opposed to the politics" of the assembly (*Novascotian*, Aug. 30).

¹³*Novascotian*, June 25, 1835. Mr. Parsons was not only sentenced to three months in prison, but ordered to remain there until he had paid a fine of £50. Chief Justice Boulton was particularly noted for his loyal speeches when fired with the wine of patriotism that flowed so freely when the good gentlemen of Saint John's gathered to dine (*Acadian recorder*, May 7 and 28, 1836).

and then ordered them to find the defendant guilty or not guilty. In twenty minutes they returned with a second verdict: "We find the Defendent Guilty—*Damages*, ONE SHILLING!"¹⁴ In a long and legally worded commentary on the trial, Dr. Thomas McCulloch of Pictou, Nova Scotia, warned the readers of the *Colonial patriot* against the doctrine urged by the court in Charlottetown: "It being out of our own Province makes no difference, in either our duty or right, for we profess to be *Colonial* and not merely *Nova Scotian* Patriots; and besides if we allow legal error to be quietly smuggled into any one of the colonies, it is not easy to tell where its baneful influences may terminate. . . ." ¹⁴ Independent spirits like McCulloch were also to be found in New Brunswick where, two years later, jurymen in Saint John made a further advance against the frowning fortress of the libel law. John Hooper, the publisher of the *British colonist*, was the man on trial, and the libel in question was a letter, written by Thomas Gardiner for a Mr. Layton of Richibucto, which was not pleasing to the legal profession in the loyalist colony. Like Joseph Howe in 1835, Hooper conducted his own defence, scorning to lean on the dry limbs of the law when he could depend on "the fearless independence of the people". Nineteen hours the jury deliberated without reaching a unanimous conclusion; but the ten men who refused to find Hooper guilty of malicious libel were enough to make him a free man. The failure of the Saint John jury to come to a decisive conclusion and to free the actual writer of the libel who, in a later trial, was fined £30 and ordered to give sureties for good behaviour, left two steps still to be taken before the press in the Maritime Provinces was finally liberated.¹⁵ The last victorious advance was made by the twelve jurors of Halifax who, responding to the argument and eloquence of the young printer of the *Novascotian*, unanimously agreed that he was innocent of the charges against him and made no reference to the writer of the communication that had criticized the civic administration of Halifax.¹⁶ After this complete triumph of Howe, the shadow of the law no longer darkened the lives of journalists down by the sea.

¹⁴*Colonial patriot*, July 22, 1829. Dr. McCulloch's editorials were marked by his son, William McCulloch, in the files of the *Colonial patriot* that were presented to the Public Archives of Nova Scotia by Miss Isabella McCulloch of Truro, Nova Scotia. Jotham Blanchard once wrote that McCulloch suggested the name of *Colonial patriot* as being better than the *Pictou patriot* (*Colonial patriot*, Jan. 5, 1833).

¹⁵Direct quotations from the New Brunswick press with added comments of the Nova Scotian editors will be found in *Acadian recorder*, Nov. 27, 1830, Jan. 29, March 5, 1831; *Novascotian*, Jan. 27, 1831; *Colonial patriot*, Jan. 29, 1831.

¹⁶This letter signed by "the People" appeared in the *Novascotian*, Jan. 1, 1835. All the press in the Maritime Provinces carried reports of Howe's trial in the following March.

The more prosaic problems of publishing, the gathering and writing of news and special articles and the distribution of papers to subscribers, were unaffected by these brilliant victories for the freedom of the press. They were obviated to some extent by the new advances made in transportation; but there was still much uncertainty over the arrival and delivery of mails. During the storms of winter, stage coaches were not uncommonly held up for hours, and even days, and steamships which usually plied regularly between the colonies stopped running entirely. The old sailing packets, at the mercy of wind and tide, continued throughout the thirties to carry the Atlantic mails, although after the crossing of the *Sirius* and the *Great Western* to New York in 1838, the latest English and European news was received from the United States. During those lean periods in the winter and spring, when British, foreign, and even colonial intelligence was often lacking, editors in the past had relied on literature, science, and the classics to eke out their meagre resources; but, beginning in 1828, Howe set a new style by filling his *Novascotian* with reports on the debates of the local assembly which generally met some time between January and April. In New Brunswick, where nearly all the newspapers were published outside the capital, editors had to be content with the printed journals of the assembly until 1831, when some "spirited" gentlemen in Saint John raised enough money to send a reporter to Fredericton for the express purpose of recording the legislative proceedings.¹⁷ Seven years later, the assembly itself offered to pay half the expenses of this service on the condition that the reports would appear semi-weekly.¹⁸ Although out of direct touch with their assembly, the journalists in New Brunswick had the advantage of being nearer American and Canadian centres than any of their *confrères* in the other two colonies. The position of newspaper men was just the reverse in Prince Edward Island, where the capital was the only centre of the press. Editors in Charlottetown could always depend on the active assembly to provide news during the session; but, owing to the comparative isolation of the island¹⁹ and its small population, they sometimes experienced a dearth of information in the summer, although only rarely could a week's intelligence be summed up in those two lines of Hamlet which Mr. Haszard used in September, 1828: "Have you had a quiet guard? Not a mouse stirring."²⁰ When the mice

¹⁷*Novascotian*, Jan. 27, 1831, Nov. 15 and 22, 1832.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, Jan. 18, 1838.

¹⁹There was steamship service between Pictou, Nova Scotia, and Charlottetown during the 1830's.

²⁰Quoted in the *Novascotian*, Sept. 25, 1828.

did stir, over-worked editors in all three provinces had difficulty in following their movements.

Reporters were a luxury that few publishers could afford and, in the early 1830's at least, there was a definite lack of dependable local talent. Joseph Howe, in one of his typical moments of reminiscing, wrote in 1840: "At the commencement of the Old Series of the *Novascotian*, there was not a single individual, with one exception, capable of writing a paragraph, upon whom we could fall back. Now we could at any moment call upon a dozen, who would, at a week's notice, supply an original number."²¹ He might have added that since the early days he had also acquired a staff of two reporters to do some of the everyday drudgery that had once fallen solely upon his shoulders. Luckily for Howe, his constitution was made of iron and his energy and enthusiasm were boundless, but even this God-given combination cracked under the strain of reporting the debates and election speeches during the constitutional crisis of 1830. In the spring of 1831, when the second session within a year was over, Howe went to bed for a month.²² During the following summer, he slackened his pace, deliberately leaving politics to one side and publishing accounts of his *Eastern rambles*. The refreshing draughts of country air and country ale—his customary meat and drink in the hot season—soon revived him. Long before the new session he was back in the capital striking his old stride. In 1834, when legislative proceedings were enlivened by a discussion on the constitution of the council, his notes on the debates filled 172 columns of the *Novascotian*. He continued at this rate until he entered the assembly himself in 1837, when he hired Adams Archibald to report the debates. When the legislative council began its first session a year later, he employed another reporter, John S. Thompson. Thompson, who had conducted the *Acadian telegram* for two years, was also the editor of the *Novascotian* from the end of April, 1838, to the middle of November, when Howe was making his first pilgrimage through the British Isles and Europe.

While the *Novascotian* far outdistanced its rivals in the general race of reporting debates, elections, legal proceedings, public meetings, and, in fact, all the varied aspects of local life, its rivals often ran it a close second in particular features. At times, for

²¹*Ibid.*, Jan. 2, 1840.

²²*Ibid.*, June 2, 1831. He published 160 columns on the debates in the first session of 1830, and over a hundred more during the second, which began late in 1830 and continued into 1831, to say nothing of the pages given to election speeches, legislative reviews, and editorials, all originally written in his own hand.

instance, the *Acadian recorder* had almost as long reports on the local legislature and the *Colonial patriot* usually had as much news of the outside world, while the *Halifax journal* and the *Halifax Times*, like their commercial counterparts in New Brunswick, always gave ample space to the problems of currency and banking and to the general prosperity of the country. Naturally, they all changed their interests from year to year and from season to season. The *Novascotian* in the summer-time, when Howe went on his rambles to see the country and listen to the people, was filled with literary extracts and colonial, British, and foreign news, or crowded with contributions from local writers. In the winter, when he had no other room, Howe brought out special supplements to take care of the countless letters and articles that were continually piling up on his desk. These effusions of native genius received less consideration from other editors, but they appeared from time to time in all the papers. The years, like the seasons, brought their changes in the contents of the various journals. The *Acadian recorder* in 1829 was the sympathetic medium of the long-winded complaints and accusations of John A. Barry who, after posing as a man of the people, came out as a dyed-in-the-wool tory the next year. The *Colonial patriot* between 1827 and 1830 was the chief oracle of the impending constitutional crisis; but lost its voice of authority after that date. The *Halifax journal* by the 1830's had settled down to the slow, unchanging pace of age, giving over its editorial columns to the latest news of shipping and its front and back pages to the newest advertisements, but the new-born *Times*, which acquired its first legislative reporter in 1838, like the more youthful publications in New Brunswick, was always ready when the opportunity offered to dash into the arena of active politics and petty local squabbles.

The never-ceasing efforts of publishers and editors to make their papers interesting and instructive were more tiring but not as exasperating as the difficulties encountered in the actual delivery of papers. These difficulties had increased with the growth of circulation and the new popular interest in public affairs. The first caused papers to be lost and mislaid, while the latter, particularly during times of general excitement, led to petty pilfering. Lost, strayed, or stolen, harassed editors had no means of knowing; they could only apologetically acknowledge the letters from irate readers who had not received their papers in weeks. Few subscribers spoke in the temperate tones of Marcus Gunn of Miramichi who wrote to the Saint John *British colonist* and the Pictou

Colonial patriot in 1833 to say that, owing to "the most discouraging irregularity" in the receipt of his copies, he was obliged to discontinue his subscriptions, although he had "an affinity" for the political principles of both papers.²³ The anxiety of the people to get news during periods of crisis is well illustrated in the letter which a correspondent in Antigonish sent to Joseph Howe during the dispute over the brandy duties in the spring of 1830: "Your Papers are sought after and read with an avidity which I have never seen equalled, in this quarter, even in times of greatest excitement. I conversed with a gentleman from the lower extremity of the county yesterday, who tells me a similar interest is manifested in all the other Townships."²⁴ If any further evidence on this point were needed, it is in the statement of the Prince Edward Island subscriber of the *Halifax Times* who, after the Canadian crisis in 1837, wrote that several times during the past six months his papers had not arrived on schedule, although they had turned up "subsequently".²⁵ Despite their complaints, however, the readers of newspapers had reason to be thankful that they were no longer solely dependent on the old couriers. When the Western Stage Coach Company began its operations in 1828, Howe said that the people of western Nova Scotia would henceforth get their *Novascotian* "fresh from the Press" instead of "waiting nearly four days for its arrival".²⁶ Before the end of the thirties, stage coaches and steamships were providing frequent and comparatively rapid services between the towns and ports of the Maritime Provinces and linking them with the principal centres in the Canadas and the United States, and the first iron monsters were frightening the good people of eastern Nova Scotia.

The various costs of running a newspaper in the 1830's are by no means easy to estimate, but there are one or two obvious suggestions to make and a few facts to state. Although the charges involved in obtaining news and information were negligible, particularly when the editor did his own staff work and was not sparing with his scissors and paste, the price of paper and printing ink, imported from England almost exclusively before 1830, but after that date also from the United States, must have been considerable. The initial amount needed to acquire a printing establishment was usually kept a secret by the parties

²³*Colonial patriot*, April 30, 1833. The letter was addressed to the editors of both papers and a copy sent to each.

²⁴*Novascotian*, May 6, 1830.

²⁵*Times*, Feb. 27, 1838.

²⁶*Novascotian*, April 3, 1828.

concerned. Even Howe, who was accustomed, in the exuberance of his editorial writing, to refer to many autobiographical facts, only admitted in a private letter that the *Novascotian* cost him £1050—£210 a year for five years—when he bought it from G. R. Young late in 1827.²⁷ At the time of sale, the *Novascotian* claimed the second highest circulation in the country. Howe would have paid a good deal less if he had been able to buy the establishment of some defunct publication. This was a common practice in the thirties, when there were more papers and more failures. The printing presses and types of the short-lived *Yarmouth telegram*, for instance, which had already been used for the *Bermuda gazette*, were taken over by the proprietor of the *Yarmouth herald* in 1833, sold to James Bowes of the *Halifax Weekly mirror* in 1836, and at last, it is said, shipped to New Brunswick in 1839 to end their odyssey in the printing of George Fenerty's *Saint John Commercial news*.²⁸ The presses and types of the *Colonial patriot* also had a varied experience. In 1836, they were purchased by James Dawson to print the *Pictou Bee*, and then by John Stiles to publish the *Pictou Mechanic and farmer*, and finally, it seems, they were moved to New Glasgow to begin the *Eastern chronicle*.²⁹ Then as now, of course, the expenses of publishers did not cease until their papers reached the door-steps of their readers, but the charge for delivery, in ratio to the circulation, was definitely higher. This "tax", as it was called, was the subject of continual complaint among publishers in both political camps during the 1830's and the cause of many a protest to the deputy postmaster-general. A statement made in a petition to the assembly by the editor of the *Acadian recorder* suggests that the amount paid to the post office by some papers was as high as £40 a year;³⁰ but hints like this are so few and far between that the total annual expenditure of the average publisher remains a mystery. The fact that total expenditures sometimes exceeded total revenues might be enlightening if the amount of the revenue could be determined, but this is impossible without the accounts of the publishers. To multiply numbers of subscribers by rates of subscriptions would be most misleading, for, as already stated, the

²⁷J. A. Chisholm, "Hitherto unpublished letters of Joseph Howe" (*Dalhousie review*, XII, Oct., 1932).

²⁸J. Murray Lawson, *Yarmouth, past and present* (Yarmouth, N.S., 1902), 18. Also *Acadian recorder*, Sept. 28, 1839.

²⁹George Patterson, *A history of the county of Pictou, Nova Scotia* (Montreal, 1877), 384-5.

³⁰*Acadian recorder*, May 19, 1832.

amount of public patronage given to a paper was no indication of the extent of its financial support.

While comments on the circulation of newspapers belong more properly to the later consideration of their influence, a few general statements, suggesting the relative success of liberal, tory, and independent publishers in the 1830's may not be out of place here as a preface to the description of the birth and development of the political policies of their papers. In the rough political seas of the thirties, when great storms of reform and sudden squalls of reaction made sailing dangerous for all craft, whatever their ensign, the record of the liberal skippers was outstanding. Time and again, they kept afloat when their contemporaries went to the bottom. The tories usually sailed briskly in the breezes of loyalty that now and then crossed the waters, while the independents were almost invariably wrecked on the rocks of non-support, regardless of the prevailing winds. The high percentage of casualties in the 1830's, while principally owing to the changing state of public opinion, was also affected by the large number of competitors. Few publishers failed in the earlier years of the post-war period, when sailing was relatively much smoother and competition definitely less keen.

The long-lived *Acadian recorder*, slipping down the ways in Halifax early in January, 1813, heralded the dawn of the new era that was about to break over the Atlantic sea-board. Flying the first standard of reform ever seen in the Maritime Provinces, the fearless twenty-nine year old master was the native-born Nova Scotian, Anthony Holland. Despite the challenge at his mast-head, Holland did not experience any serious opposition during the first three years of his voyage. Indeed, two of his dignified tory rivals, the *Royal gazette* and the *Weekly chronicle*, went out of their way to avoid a conflict, while the third, the *Halifax journal*, after a brief show of fire, hauled in its guns. Not until that pugnacious, egotistical Irishman, Edmund Ward, launched the *Free press* in 1816 as the avowed champion of the family compact did Holland meet an opponent worthy of his mettle. The fight between Holland and Ward, which stirred the waters of Halifax journalism for the first time, was enlivened as much by personal enmity as by the difference in their political principles. A truce was called late in 1821 after an ignominious climax in the courts of law. Ward sued for damages and won "Nine Pounds and Three Pence".³¹ The loss of so small a sum is not likely to have

³¹*Ibid.*, Oct. 27, 1821.

had much influence on Holland's decision to leave the *Acadian recorder* two years later, although there is little doubt that the case was still vivid in his memory. Certain it is, at any rate, that his brother and successor, Philip Holland, was always ready to renew the hostilities with Ward who by the 1830's was carrying on a general engagement with the whole reform press.

Philip Holland had been a partner of his brother, Anthony, along with Edward Moody, three years before he assumed the sole control of the *Acadian recorder* in January, 1824. Under his management the *Recorder* maintained an unchanged course, demanding moderate reforms in a stout British manner. His "old fashioned notions", as he once confessed, held him back from the vanguard of the reform movement established by the Pictou Scribblers late in 1827 and strengthened by Howe after 1829; but he could always be depended upon for a creditable rear-guard action. When he finally resigned at the end of 1836, owing to ill health, he seems to have had few regrets either for his own personal conduct in past years or for the general cause that he had espoused.

Holland's moderation and caution in the handling of the *Acadian recorder* were not emulated by John English and Hugh Blackadar, the two youthful editors who succeeded him in January, 1837. Sailing into the front line of battle with all the fire of their untried spirits, English and Blackadar were immediately opposed by the whole strength of the tory opposition. What with dark threats from high placed "opponents" in consequence of their outspoken comments on the Canadian rebellions at the end of 1837³² and the wave of loyalty that swept over Nova Scotia in the wake of those rebellions, their ardour was dampened for a full year.³³ Not until 1839 when, thanks to Lord Durham, reformers had regained their respectability in the Maritime Provinces, did the more experienced young skippers again raise the flag of reform at the topmast of the *Acadian recorder*.

The *Novascotian*, the other great bulwark of reform in Halifax and the flagship of the party not only in Nova Scotia but in all the Maritime Provinces during the 1830's, did not, like the *Acadian recorder*, sail with the reformers from its earliest days. To those persons who, before it appeared late in 1824, had urged its prospective owner, G. R. Young, "to strike out a new and independent course of action . . . to assail the measures of the Government

³²*Ibid.*, Dec. 30, 1837.

³³Even the size of their paper was smaller in 1838. This was probably owing to the loss of subscribers whose views had coincided with the moderate opinions of Philip Holland.

. . . to found a regular organized opposition, and to aspire, forsooth, to the honors of a radical", the actual course taken by the *Novascotian* must have been a great disappointment.³⁴ Instead of coming smartly forward, as they had hoped, to join forces with the *Acadian recorder* in the fight for reform, it sailed away for a three years' voyage in the calm channels of commerce. Although Young's scorn for the rising tide of political unrest seems to have been as sincere in 1827 as it was in 1824, when he emphatically rejected the "insidious counsel" of his "pretended friends", he was shrewd enough to see that his essentially economic outlook, popular enough in past years, would soon be out of favour with a people becoming more and more politically minded. He gave no reason for his resignation in 1827, but it seems safe to assume that he had looked forward to diminishing profits in journalism and then decided to try his fortunes in the world of business and literature. He was determined, however, that in spite of the coming changes, the character of the *Novascotian* should not be let down by his successor, and to make sure of this he persuaded young Joseph Howe to leave his position as joint editor of the very respectable *Acadian*.

Joseph Howe and his partner, James Spike, who had purchased the old *Weekly chronicle* from William Minns and renamed it the *Acadian*, had set out in January, 1827. Their one year together proved to be uneventful. Professing to be advocates of no party and only occasionally showing their tory tendencies, they sailed along almost unnoticed by their more outspoken contemporaries. After Howe went over to the *Novascotian* in 1828, leaving Spike alone at the helm of the *Acadian*, both ships remained within hailing distance for a short stretch and then veered away as storm clouds gathered on the eastern horizon where the Pictou Scribblers were gleefully predicting the death and destruction of all opponents of reform. Before the end of 1828, Spike had gained the shelter of a safe tory harbour and was already enjoying the distinction of being called the "Tom-Thumb-Champion of all Government measures";³⁵ but Howe, undaunted by the threats from Pictou, was still outside, apparently ready to ride the advancing storm.

The true bearing of Howe's course as he took the *Novascotian* into the troubled political waters of the 1830's has been so blurred by controversy and myth that it should be clearly charted. The invidious suggestion that he did not swing over to the side of the

³⁴*Novascotian*, Dec. 27, 1827.

³⁵*Colonial patriot*, Dec. 3, 1828.

reformers until after their election victory in October, 1830, or, at least, until after their unexpected show of spirit in March and April of that year may be squelched at once by the evidence of his own words. Although when he began publishing his legislative reviews on July 9, 1829, Howe declared that he was writing for no party, a month later, on August 6, he attacked the high salaries of the judiciary and little over six months later again, on January 21, 1830, he stated frankly that he believed the structure of the council was "unconstitutional and defective" and then explained that "recent events" had "wrought a change" in his opinions. Although by "recent events" Howe undoubtedly meant the unseemly squabbling in 1829 between John Barry, openly supported by the council, and the house of assembly from which Barry had been expelled, he may also have been thinking of the influence of the Pictou Scribblers which he is said to have acknowledged in the office of the *Colonial patriot* during the 1830 election in Pictou,³⁶ where, according to Edmund Ward's *Free press*, he joined the side of the reformers in the general riots that took place at that time.³⁷ Howe denied Ward's accusation, but in the previous April, he had had nothing to say when the Pictou Scribblers, after reading his editorials on the Brandy dispute, publicly charged him with "Council-Slaughter".³⁸ The course of the *Novascotian* from this time onward never wavered. Before another year had passed it was leading the reform line, its booming guns exploding the myth that its master was a minor political figure prior to his trial in 1835.

The financial success of Howe and Holland in the 1830's presents a striking contrast to the failures of their tory rivals, Ward and Spike. While the former two steadily forged ahead year after year, the latter two floundered sadly in the mounting waves of the reform movement. Ward's *Free press* was the first to go under, but he managed to keep himself dry by launching the *Temperance recorder*. The original idea of capitalizing on the growing cause of temperance had belonged to J. H. Doane who on December 20, 1833, issued a prospectus for the *Temperance advocate*, but Ward's quick action early in 1834 prevented the building of this dreamed-of barque.³⁹ Although Ward now sailed

³⁶Patterson, *History of county of Pictou*, 377. Patterson quotes Howe as saying: "The Pictou Scribblers have converted me from the error of my ways."

³⁷*Novascotian*, Oct. 28, 1830.

³⁸*Colonial patriot*, April 24, 1830.

³⁹On January 7, 1834, Ward told the readers of his *Free press* that he would soon give them a special department on temperance, and a month later on February 11, he announced that he would devote all his talents to the popular movement which then had "at least 10,000" adherents.

in a sea of his own, the profits did not come up to his expectations. Three years later, he again made a change, crossing the Bay of Fundy, to set forth once again in the *New Brunswick sentinel* at Fredericton. In the same year, 1837, James Spike also deserted policy for profit, bringing out the non-controversial *Farmer and mechanic*, and a year later, retiring even further from the churning waters of politics in the church of Scotland *Guardian*.

After the *Free press* went down, the family compact pinned its hopes on the new *Times*, a trim, well-built craft that first appeared in June, 1834. Messrs. Gossip and Coade were in charge of the *Times* and their intended course was stated at the outset: "... we profess to be governed not so much by a desire of change, as a wish to let well alone." Although each year they vied with Howe and Holland in reporting progress and improvements, it is obvious that this was owing to their strong financial backing and not the result of popular approval. They did, of course, feel the favourable winds of loyalty that swept over the Atlantic colonies after the Canadian crisis and enabled them to pass beyond the thirties with colours flying.

None of the independent journalists in Halifax, with the exception of Hugh Munroe and his non-political *Halifax journal*, succeeded in steering a middle course throughout the 1830's. James Bowes tried his hand at the wheel of the *Weekly mirror*, but sold out a year later to Hugh Blackadar who, in turn, was ready to quit after twelve months. Joining forces with John English in 1837, Blackadar found in the *Acadian recorder* a better, if a more dangerous berth. John S. Thompson had a similar experience. He set out in the *Acadian telegram* in 1836 proposing to collect news without views; but two years later, he was glad to accept a position on Joseph Howe's *Novascotian*. Despite these failures of non-partisan publishers, young Jacob D. Kuhn was ready to try his fortune on the *Haligonian and general advertiser* which, as he announced in August, 1839, was to be "mainly devoted to Commercial purposes" and the first semi-weekly in Halifax. Such hopeful ambition probably deserved success, but it seems doubtful if the *Haligonian* ever left the shipyard of dreams.⁴⁰

The outstanding characteristic of the press of Nova Scotia was the keen rivalry exhibited between the newspapers of Halifax and those in the rest of the province which sprang naturally from the various social, economic, and political fences that separated the

⁴⁰Beyond Kuhn's prospectus in the *Novascotian*, Aug. 29, 1839, and in other papers, no reference to the *Haligonian* has been found.

capital from the country. This rivalry was particularly noticeable in the late 1820's and in 1830, when the *Colonial patriot*, the first country paper to appear after 1812, opened its fire on the family compact in Halifax. Its guns, manned by the youthful editor, Jotham Blanchard, the stout publisher, William Milne, and that redoubtable protagonist, Dr. McCulloch, reverberated throughout the Maritime Provinces, giving full expression to the Scottish radicalism of eastern Nova Scotia that had long been denied sufficient space in the "Royalist" journals of Halifax. After 1831, when its editorials had dropped away to a low rumble, Joseph Howe, whose sincere interest in the people outside Halifax had already been evidenced in the sympathetic accounts of his arduous travels among them, succeeded in overcoming much of the bitterness and distrust that they had once entertained for the city folk.

The *Colonial patriot* of Pictou, beginning late in 1827, afforded in its short life of seven years a superb illustration of how a paper could rise on outspoken advocacy of reform and decline with a change to non-committal inactivity. The leading reform journal in the country during its violent attacks on the council and constitution, the *Colonial patriot* sank into comparative obscurity after Blanchard entered the assembly in the capital, where, so men said, he was neutralized by tory wines and compliments. Although Blanchard was called a turncoat, the strange coma of indifference that came over him after 1831 may have been more than this. His health was none too good, and throughout 1832 he was so oblivious to his responsibilities as an editor that the *Colonial patriot*, already feeling the competition of the new *Pictou observer*, rapidly lost its influence and circulation. Blanchard's attempts in 1833 and 1834 to re-establish himself in the estimation of his former friends and admirers were unsuccessful, and in the latter year the *Colonial patriot* ceased publication.

The *Pictou observer*, the second paper to challenge the journalistic monopoly of Halifax, was the rival of the *Colonial patriot*. These new Pictou Scribblers, springing out of the bitterness that followed the election of 1830, sparred with the old in a struggle that ended in the death of both their papers. Their successor, the *Pictou Bee*, established by James Dawson in the spring of 1835, "to cultivate peace and friendship" between the two factions,⁴¹ held to the middle of the road for two years; but during the crisis in the Canadas in the summer and autumn of 1837 he sheered so

⁴¹*Bee*, May 2, 1838. James Dawson was the father of Sir William Dawson.

far to the left that the Halifax Exchange reading-room banned the *Bee* from its tables.⁴² The loss of the Halifax subscription would have been a matter of small concern to Mr. Dawson if his other subscribers had been more considerate in paying their bills. As it was, the action of the reading-room committee brought him one step nearer the point of living "on nothing".⁴³ This, as he once informed his readers, was not one of his accomplishments, and the event proved his word. In the spring of 1838 he was forced to sell out to John Stiles, the proprietor of the new *Mechanic and farmer*, the fourth paper to be published in Pictou. In the same spring, the old *Pictou observer* came to life again, its tory opinions unchanged. The editor, John McKenzie, rejoiced that he was able to resume his labours "on the eve of a Royal Maiden's Coronation", and well he might have, for the tide of loyalty that rose so strongly in Nova Scotia in that year carried him, as it carried the editors of the *Halifax Times*, beyond the uncertain thirties.⁴⁴

The example set by eastern Nova Scotia was soon followed by western Nova Scotia. If the Scots needed to air their views and grievances, why then, so did the sons of the first New Englanders and not a few of the later loyalists. The democratic spirit of old America could burn as fiercely as the radical fire of old Scotland. Yarmouth, the chief sea-port of the west, came near to having a paper before Pictou. In June, 1827, Mr. Younghusband of Saint John, New Brunswick, issued a prospectus for the *Yarmouth advocate*, but, for one reason or another, his hopes "died in the bud".⁴⁵ A native of the town, like Herbert Huntington for instance, might have succeeded where an outsider failed. Huntington, however, was less interested in the pen than he was in the public forum of the assembly, where his fellow townsmen sent him in 1830. So long as local talent held back, outside journalists, experienced and inexperienced, were bound to come in. Yarmouth and the large surrounding district, increasing in prosperity and population year by year, presented a promising market for publications. Messrs. L'Estrange and Jackson, the proprietors of the *Bermuda gazette*, were the first to enter it. Their *Yarmouth telegram*, which began publication in November, 1831, lasted for less than a year.⁴⁶ Whether this was owing to the personal in-

⁴²*Ibid.*, Nov. 15 and Dec. 27, 1837.

⁴³*Ibid.*, Oct. 19, 1836.

⁴⁴John McKenzie was not the Rev. Kenneth John McKenzie, a prolific Pictou scribe, who died in 1838.

⁴⁵Lawson, *Yarmouth, past and present*, 9. The prospectus appeared in the *Nova-scotian*, June 28, 1827.

⁴⁶The first issue appeared on November 25, 1831, and the last on October 26, 1832.

compatibility of the publishers, who dissolved their partnership in July, 1832, or to the fact that their views were not in tune with public sentiment cannot be determined with certainty, but ensuing events point to the latter reason. The gentleman who issued a prospectus of a "very respectable" periodical in September, 1832,⁴⁷ apparently had cause to think better of his intentions, but this was not the case with eighteen-year-old Alexander Lawson, who, arriving in Yarmouth in the summer of 1833, promised to discuss politics "in a liberal and manly spirit". Fresh from his apprenticeship in the *Colonial patriot* office at Pictou, Lawson succeeded in striking the right chord in Yarmouth. The voice of his *Yarmouth herald* became the voice of western Nova Scotia and he was still its editor at the age of eighty. E. K. Allen, his contemporary in Windsor, another pre-revolutionary town, was not so successful. Allen's *Hants and King's county gazette*, established in October, 1832, was a fairly independent advocate of moderate reform measures, but the competition of the Halifax papers (the capital was only forty-five miles distant from Windsor) put it out of business within two years.⁴⁸ More outspoken views on reform might have prolonged its life because the spirit of pre-revolutionary New England was as prevalent in the Annapolis valley as it was in Yarmouth. Another interesting test of public opinion in the latter district came in 1839, when Richard Huntington's new *Yarmouth conservative* failed in six months.⁴⁹

Two papers were also published in Cape Breton during the 1830's. The first was established in 1832, when "A Society of Gentlemen" in Sydney, estimating the population of the island at 30,000, expected that they would find sufficient subscribers for their new paper, the *Cape Breton herald*.⁵⁰ Although they announced that their interests were with the people and, as if to prove this, asked a country man, N. H. Martin of St. Peters, to become their editor, it soon became evident that they were more concerned with the promotion of their tory principles. Their paper, which began publication in June, 1832, continued until the following January when it suddenly succumbed. This early failure of a newspaper promoted by the established gentlemen of Sydney did not deter C. R. Ward and his partner, Mr. Haire, two

⁴⁷*Acadian recorder*, Sept. 29, 1832.

⁴⁸The last issue found was dated September 22, 1834.

⁴⁹George Brown, *Yarmouth, Nova Scotia* (Boston, 1888), 352. Richard Huntington was not a brother, but a cousin of Herbert Huntington, and on the other side of the political fence.

⁵⁰Their prospectus, published in the *Novascotian*, May 24, 1832, estimated that Cape Breton had increased in population by some 18,000 people in the past fifteen years.

young men of liberal ideas, from immediately bringing out another in its place. That their *Cape Bretonian*, which, when it appeared in the spring of 1833, was hailed by Joseph Howe as a "neat and spirited little Paper",⁵¹ continued publication for well over a year, and perhaps went beyond that, fairly indicates the temper and the poverty of the Scots in Cape Breton during the 1830's.⁵²

The short surveys of the press in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island that now follow suggest conclusions that are strikingly similar to those already outlined for Nova Scotia. In both provinces, but particularly in New Brunswick, the reform papers were the most successful, although again it is evident that the period following 1836 was an auspicious time for the beginning of tory journals in the Maritime Provinces. Beyond this general similarity in the experience of journalists, and the fact that the majority of the editors seem to have been young natives of the country, local characteristics naturally made a distinction between the presses of the three colonies.

In New Brunswick, where commerce vied with loyalty for prominence in the press, at least fifteen new papers were published between 1811 and 1840. Three came out in the capital city: The *Fredericton watchman* (1833), the *Conservative* (1835), and the *New Brunswick sentinel* (1837). The others, established in Saint John, Saint Andrews, Miramichi, and Woodstock, appeared in the following order: *Saint John courier* (1812), *Saint John star* (1818) which became the *Weekly observer* in 1828, *Saint Andrews herald* (1819), *Miramichi mercury* (1825) which became the *Miramichi gleaner* in 1829, *British colonist* (Saint John, 1827), *Saint Andrews courant* (1830), *Saint Andrews standard* (1833), *Woodstock times* (1837), *Weekly chronicle* (Saint John, 1837), *Saint John news* (1838), *Saint John herald* (1839), *Commercial news* (Saint John, 1839).⁵³ Another paper which, in age at least, belonged to this group of new era publications was the *City gazette* of Saint John, which began publication in 1811. The only survivor of the earlier pre-war journals was the old *Royal gazette* at Fredericton.

The journalists of New Brunswick, who were remarkably dispassionate in their political outlook during the 1820's, when they received no reports on the debates in Fredericton and were solely

⁵¹*Novascotian*, May 9, 1833.

⁵²*Cape Bretonian*, Aug. 2, 1834. Publication was suspended with this issue, but resumed in the following October. The *Acadian recorder*, Oct. 25, 1834, suggests that C. R. Ward carried on alone after that date.

⁵³The publisher of the *Commercial news*, G. E. Fenety, was formerly an apprentice in the office of Joseph Howe.

engrossed in the affairs of commerce, did not discuss public affairs with spirit until stirred by the revenue disputes in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in 1830. Following that momentous year, the citizens of Saint John, where all, or nearly all, the liberal papers of the 1830's were published, made arrangements to have legislative reports sent from Fredericton to the Saint John papers.⁵⁴

The liberal editors in New Brunswick, like their opposite numbers in Nova Scotia, soon discovered that opposition to authority was good business for journalists in the 1830's. John Hooper of the Saint John *British colonist* said that he secured a hundred new subscriptions after his announcement in the autumn of 1830 that the attorney-general intended to prosecute him for libel.⁵⁵ Although less than a year after his trial in January, 1831, "Patriot Hooper" departed for England,⁵⁶ his spirited successor continued to attack the authorities. It is known that the *British colonist* was still very much alive in 1835, but how long it continued after that date is not evident in the papers of Nova Scotia.⁵⁷ The second Saint John paper to profit by the expression of Liberal principles was the *Saint John courier* which, after the publication of outstanding reform articles in 1832, became the most popular journal in the country.⁵⁸ The *Courier*, along with the third liberal paper in Saint John, the *Weekly observer*, successfully maintained publication throughout the 1830's.

The tory and independent press in New Brunswick was also affected by the changes in public opinion. As early as August, 1831, Peter Stubbs, Sr., resigned as editor of the *Saint Andrews herald*, acknowledging that "his political principles" were no longer in accordance with "those of the great body of the people of the Province". Because of this, it seems, he was ready to give over the paper to his son.⁵⁹ It seems doubtful, however, whether young Mr. Stubbs accepted the offer of his father. As no further references to the paper appear after 1831, the probability is that the *Saint Andrews courant*, which had come out in the previous year, was the only publication in town until 1833, when it, in turn, apparently gave way to the *Saint Andrews standard*.⁶⁰ Little can be gleaned in the Nova Scotian press about the political leanings of the editors of the *Courant* and the *Herald*. Like not a few of

⁵⁴See above, p. 8.

⁵⁵Hooper's editorial was quoted in the *Acadian recorder*, Nov. 27, 1830.

⁵⁶*Novascotian*, Dec. 15, 1831.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, March 19, 1835, letter from "T.S." of Kentville.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, Feb. 5, 1835, another letter from "T.S."

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, Aug. 25, 1831.

⁶⁰No reference to the *Courant* was found after 1833.

their contemporaries, their interests seem to have been mainly commercial. If this was truly the case, there is every reason to believe that five tory or independent papers failed in New Brunswick before 1837: two at Saint Andrews, the *Herald* and the *Courant*; one at Saint John, the *City gazette*, which after several shifts in management in the early 1830's, ceased publication in 1835; two at Fredericton, the *Watchman* which appeared in 1833 and disappeared in 1835 and the *Conservative* which came out in 1835 and may have lasted a year or two. The only tory or independent papers definitely known to have reached the year 1837 were the *Royal gazette* at Fredericton, the *Miramichi gleaner* (commercial), and the *Saint Andrews standard*. They were then joined by the *New Brunswick sentinel* (tory), the *Weekly chronicle* (tory), and the *Woodstock times* (probably tory), and all six were swept into the 1840's on the high tide of New Brunswick loyalty that arose after the Canadian rebellions. The three papers established after 1837 may have been affected by the same tide. Nothing more than the name is known of the *Saint John news*; but the *Saint John herald* (tory) and the *Saint John Commercial news* (the first penny paper in the Maritime Provinces) both carried on into the 1840's.⁶¹

The survey of the press in Prince Edward Island may be briefly stated. The three, or perhaps four, papers of the 1830's were all published in the capital where men's thoughts were thoroughly preoccupied with politics. Although it has been said that James Bagnall, a native of Shelburne, Nova Scotia, "continued to print and publish newspapers" from the early years of the nineteenth century until 1843,⁶² all evidence points to the fact that he left the field of political journalism, at least, in or before 1830.⁶³ After August, 1830, at any rate, the only papers in Charlottetown were: the *Prince Edward Island register* (1823) which was published as the *Royal gazette* after August 17, 1830, the *Prince Edward Island times* (1836), and the *Colonial herald* (1837).⁶⁴

James Haszard, the editor of the *Royal gazette* during the 1830's, was the first native of Prince Edward Island to become a local journalist. Twenty-six years old when he began the *Prince*

⁶¹Lawson, *Yarmouth, past and present*, 18.

⁶²Cotton, "The Press in Prince Edward Island".

⁶³The papers that James Bagnall published between 1810 and 1830 were the *Recorder* (1811-26), *Royal gazette* (1826-8 or 1830), *Phoenix* (1828).

⁶⁴The proposal of J. H. White to establish the *British American* in Charlottetown was noted in the *Novascotian*, July 21, 1831, but no mention of its appearance was found.

Edward Island register in 1823, he was soon in the thick of the troubled politics that disturbed the island throughout the 1820's. Heedless of the warnings of Lieutenant-Governor Smith, he continued to urge reform with all the vim and vigour of youth. His official appointment as king's printer, however, proved to be more effective than the official advice, with the result that Prince Edward Island lacked an independent organ of the press until William Rankin established the liberal *Prince Edward Island times* in 1836. The following year, J. B. Cooper, an Englishman, began the *Colonial herald*. It is not certain, but it is quite possible, that Cooper wished to offset the influence of Rankin. Little is known about either of the papers, but it appears that they both hurdled the last years of the 1830's without difficulty.⁶⁵

One final group of papers which, with a few exceptions, have not yet been mentioned, are the religious periodicals that were published in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in the post-war period. Nothing need be said about them beyond the fact that, instead of calming the troubled waters of politics, most of them added the explosive elements inherent in the religious and educational issues of the day. The following list includes quarterlies, monthlies, semi-monthlies, as well as weeklies: *The Philanthropist or Nova Scotia religious and political register* (Halifax, 1824), the *Baptist missionary magazine of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick* (Saint John, 1828), the *New Brunswick religious and literary journal* (1829), the *New Brunswick monthly and Christian intelligencer* (Anglican, Saint John, 1830), the *Wesleyan Methodist magazine* (Halifax, 1832), the *Baptist missionary magazine* (Halifax, 1832), the *Colonial churchman* (Anglican, Lunenburg, 1835), the *Christian gleaner* (Halifax, 1835), the *Christian messenger and repository* (Baptist, Halifax, 1837), the *Christian Reporter* (Saint John, 1837), the *Guardian* (Church of Scotland, Halifax, 1838).⁶⁶

The powerful influence that the newspapers exerted on the life of the Maritime Provinces during the 1830's was the direct result of their new and widespread popularity. As they had many more readers than subscribers, editors usually spoke in the most general terms when commenting on circulation, but it is clear that an extraordinary change had taken place in the reading habits of the people in the previous decade. When the *Novascotian* began publication late in 1824, only two persons out of three thousand

⁶⁵Cotton, "The Press in Prince Edward Island".

⁶⁶Few files of these publications are extant. References to them were found mostly in the *Novascotian* and the *Acadian recorder*.

took newspapers in the district of Mabou, Cape Breton,⁶⁷ yet less than eight years later, Howe claimed an almost complete coverage for the *Novascotian*:

Under the able management of our predecessor THE NOVASCOTIAN had acquired a large circulation, which has gone on rapidly and steadily increasing, until it has attained an extent far beyond our most sanguine expectations; and is equalled, we believe, by no Journal in British America. In the adjoining colonies of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island alone, nearly three hundred are taken; and in our own Province, there is scarcely a village where it is not as freely circulated as in Town; hardly a hamlet or cross road, however obscure, into which it does not weekly find its way. The merchant reads it to his customers round the counter; the smith drops his hammer for a reference to its pages; and it passes from hand to hand, around each farmer's fire all over the broad bosom of the country whose name it bears. What we now write we know will be read far and wide by thousands. . . .⁶⁸

The general scramble to scan the news during periods of political excitement has already been illustrated;⁶⁹ but little or nothing has been said of the more common coming together of small groups of people to read and discuss the newspapers. An excellent word picture of such significant gatherings appears in a letter written by an enthusiastic reader of the *Colonial patriot*: "Generally on the evening after the paper comes to hand, a few of the neighbours assemble in my house, and, after our homely and heartfelt compliments are exchanged, a reader is appointed, who after drawing his chair up to the head of the table, trimming the candle, coughing, and clearing his throat, unceremoniously bawls out 'Silence'—and immediately all are attention. After the reading is over, then come the remarks. . . ."⁷⁰ Here was adult education a century ago, when newspapers came like manna from heaven to a people hungry for cultural and social enlightenment, economic information, and political intelligence, and, what was more, ready and willing to respond to the pleas and suggestions of their favourite editors.

Reflecting as well as influencing the life of the Maritime Provinces in the 1830's, the newspapers are unrivalled sources of information for the student of the period, whatever his interests. The social historian, whose other sources are scant, will probably find them the most useful. In their pages, he will catch, as

⁶⁷Public Archives of Nova Scotia, *Agricultural papers*, William McKeen of Mabou to John Young, Feb. 11, 1825. John Young, well known as "Agricola", was the father of G. R. Young, the first proprietor of the *Novascotian*.

⁶⁸*Novascotian*, March 1, 1832.

⁶⁹See above, p. 11.

⁷⁰*Colonial patriot*, March 28, 1828.

nowhere else, the strong spirit of local patriotism, intellectual curiosity, and religious bitterness that dominated the lives of the people. The economic historian, while less dependent on newspapers, will not complete his story until he has read their detailed descriptions of the deep valleys of depression and high peaks of prosperity that alternately discouraged and heartened editors and correspondents. The political historian likewise must use newspapers as well as documents, if he wishes to follow all the variations of the reform movement and all the impressions on local thinking made by the ideas of European revolutionists, British reformers, American democrats, and Canadian radicals, or if he desires to understand why the great majority of the people in the Atlantic provinces disapproved of the Canadian appeal to force in 1837, why most of them were suspicious of Lord Durham's scheme of colonial union, and why some of them saw in their own provinces a great social, economic, and political future.⁷¹

The Public Archives of Nova
Scotia, Halifax.

J. S. MARTELL

APPENDIX

EXTANT FILES OF NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED IN THE MARITIME PROVINCES DURING THE 1830's

NOVA SCOTIA

Newspapers preserved in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia and the Legislative Library, Halifax:

- Acadian*—1834 (scattered issues) (L.L.)
- Acadian recorder*—1830-9 (L.L. and P.A.N.S.)
- Acadian telegraph*—1836-7 (L.L.)
- Cape Bretonian*—1834 (Feb.-Aug.) (P.A.N.S.)
- Christian messenger*—1837-9 (L.L. and P.A.N.S.)
- Colonial churchman*—1836-9 (L.L.)
- Free press*—1830 (Jan.-May), 1834 (Jan.-April) (P.A.N.S.)
- Guardian*—1838-9 (L.L. and P.A.N.S.)
- Halifax journal*—1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1839 (issues missing in each year) (P.A.N.S.), 1831-2 (L.L.)
- Hants & Kings county gazette*—1832 (third issue), 1834 (Jan.-Sept.) (P.A.N.S.)
- Novascotian*—1830-9 (P.A.N.S.), 1830-4, 1836-9 (L.L.)
- Nova Scotia royal gazette*—1830-9 (L.L.), scattered issues (P.A.N.S.)
- [Pictou] *Bee*—1835-8 (L.L.)
- Pictou observer*—1832 (Jan.-Oct.), 1833, 1838-9 (L.L.)
- Times*—1834-9 (L.L.) 1834, 1836-9 (P.A.N.S.)
- Weekly mirror*—1835-6 (L.L.)

Neither the Archives nor the Legislative Library have any files of the following papers which were noted in the pages of their contemporaries: *Cape Breton herald*,

⁷¹For documentary evidence, see notes and documents section of this issue.

Conservative (Yarmouth), *Farmer and mechanic*, *Mechanic and farmer* (Pictou), *Temperance recorder*, *Yarmouth herald*, *Yarmouth telegram*, or any of the various religious publications mentioned on page 46.

NEW BRUNSWICK

Newspapers preserved in the New Brunswick Museum and the Free Public Library, Saint John, and the Legislative Library, Fredericton:⁷²

Christian reporter—1837, 1839 (N.B.M.)

City gazette and general advertiser—1831, 1835 (N.B.M.)

Commercial news and general advertiser—1839 (N.B.M. and L.L.)

Conservative (Fredericton)—1835 (L.L.)

Fredericton watchman—1833 (L.L.)

Miramichi gleaner—1832, 1833, 1837-9 (N.B.M.), 1830-2, 1834, 1835 (F.P.L.)

New Brunswick courier—1830, 1831, 1834-7, 1839 (N.B.M.), 1830, 1831, 1834, 1835, 1837, 1838 (F.P.L.)

New Brunswick religious and literary journal—1830 (N.B.M.)

New Brunswick royal gazette—1830, 1831, 1834-7 (N.B.M.), 1832-4, 1836, 1839 (L.L.)

New Brunswick sentinel—1837-9 (L.L.)

Saint Andrews courant—1830 (L.L.)

Saint Andrews standard—1833 (L.L.)

Saint John herald—1839 (N.B.M.)

Saint John news—1838 (L.L.)

Weekly chronicle—1837-9 (F.P.L.)

Weekly observer—1834, 1837, 1838 (N.B.M.)

Woodstock times—1839 (N.B.M.)

None of these institutions has files for the *British colonist* or the *Saint Andrews herald* in the 1830's.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Newspapers preserved in the Legislative and Public Library, Charlottetown:⁷³

Prince Edward Island register—Jan. 8, 1828-Dec. 29, 1829; Jan. 6, 1829-Aug. 17, 1830 (bound in with *Royal gazette* of Aug. 24, 1830-Dec. 20, 1831); March 2, 1830-Aug. 17, 1830 (bound in with *Royal gazette* of Aug. 25, 1830-Dec. 13, 1831); April 7, 1830-Aug. 17, 1830 (bound in with *Royal gazette* of Aug. 24, 1830-Oct. 12, 1830)

Prince Edward Island times—March 26, 1836-Aug. 9, 1836 (bound in with *Palladium* of Sept. 7, 1843-May 10, 1845)

Royal gazette—Feb. 15, 1831-Dec. 27, 1831; Jan. 1, 1833-Dec. 31, 1833; Jan. 5, 1836-Dec. 26, 1837; Jan. 12, 1836-Dec. 26, 1837; Jan. 3, 1837-Dec. 25, 1838; Jan. 2, 1838-Dec. 31, 1839

⁷²This list was compiled from information forwarded by Dr. A. G. Bailey and Miss Hazel Hunter of the Museum, Miss Estelle Vaughan of the Free Public Library, and Miss Doreen Harper of the Legislative Library.

⁷³This detailed list was compiled by Miss Jean Gill, librarian at Charlottetown.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

SOME EDITORIAL OPINIONS FROM THE NEWSPAPERS OF THE MARITIME PROVINCES IN THE 1830'S

THE following quotations were brought together during the preparation of the article on the newspapers of the Maritime Provinces. The selection that has been made can, of course, do no more than suggest the wealth and diversity of material in the newspapers on such interesting subjects as the temper of the reformers before and during the constitutional struggle in Nova Scotia in 1830, the various opinions on the Canadian crisis in 1837, the reaction of reformers and tories alike to the Canadian rebellions, the outspoken opposition of the tories in Nova Scotia to the suggestion of colonial union, and, finally, the enthusiastic belief in the future and the great love of country that were not uncommon in the Maritime Provinces one hundred years ago.

J. S. MARTELL

Views of Nova Scotian Reformers, 1829-1830

Document I is an extract from an editorial of Dr. Thomas McCulloch which shows Scottish radicalism in the van of the reform movement in Nova Scotia, but, in characteristic fashion, seeking political reform as a means of overthrowing religious monopoly. Documents II and III are extracts from editorials of Philip Holland and Joseph Howe respectively to the people of Nova Scotia on the eve of the election of 1830 which was to climax the constitutional dispute over brandy duties. Both of these native-born Nova Scotians show quiet confidence in the political genius of their fellow countrymen; but while Holland is thinking merely of the local results of the coming election, Howe is aware that, with "the eyes of the neighbouring Colonies" upon them, the decision of Nova Scotians will have effects far beyond their borders. Document IV is an extract from an editorial of Howe acclaiming the victory of the reformers.

I

Colonial patriot, Dec. 2, 1829

Here, then, we have an amply endowed bishop and his clergy, located among a population, who, rejecting their services, provide and maintain their own religious

instructors: we have this dissenting community and their clergy, too, with a knowledge and feeling that they are misrepresented and disregarded: and, lastly, when these, excluded from education by episcopal bigotry, project a seminary for themselves, we have our Lord Bishop, and his relations, and friends, and spiritual children in Council, to thwart and crush. Now, we simply ask, To what does such government tend? Than Nova Scotia, there is not a more loyal section in the British empire: but, in Nova Scotia, there is not, we believe, a creek or corner which is not teeming with dissatisfaction at the materials and measures of his Majesty's provincial Council; which does not feel itself insulted by the spiritual honours and temporal powers of the man, who, misrepresenting the dissenting population of the province, employs his influence to control their rights. Under such domination and with such feelings, Nova Scotia points to a change. It has passed the period in which infancy crouches under the rod. It is now able to make Councillors both hear and regard the voice of its manhood: and British liberty and British loyalty require that its voice should be raised. It is time that his Majesty's Ministers should learn the real state of the province: it is time that the British Parliament should know the operation and effects of that ecclesiastical system, which, at the expense of the revenues of the nation, is forced upon the provinces. Our representatives know the feelings of their constituents: to representatives it belongs, to commence the reformation which Nova Scotia needs. But, however these may act, the community will not be put down: it has passed the days in which loyalty claiming its rights, quailed in the presence of prelacy and arbitrary power.

II

Acadian recorder, Aug. 28, 1830

As our paper directly or indirectly visits the hearth and the board of almost every Freeholder in the country, and as they naturally look to the press for suggestion if not advice, we would say a word or two on the approaching crisis. The great questions which the coming Election will decide are, are the citizens and yeomanry of the province ardently attached to their political rights? Are they willing to prove this attachment by deeds as well as words? If each Freeholder who peruses our paper answers those questions to his own heart, he will have a good criterion to judge whether he deserves the appellation of a "Free Briton" or whether Nova Scotia contains any "Slaves in Soul".

III

Novascotian, Sept. 2, 1830

We know there will be opposition in various quarters, and we are aware of the kind of machinery by which its motions in many places are directed—but to the freeholders of every Town and County where the *Novascotian* is read, and where we know an opinion is expected—we say emphatically *let the old Members be returned! The eyes of the neighbouring Colonies are upon us—we have appealed to the mother country, and our own conduct must strengthen or destroy that appeal. Then let it not be said that in Nova Scotia, we want that spirit, firmness and consistency, which in Canada supported the Representative Body in all its struggles with the Government, which in Prince Edward Island threw back upon Governor Smythe every man of the Assembly which in his recklessness he dissolved; and which in France, within the past month, has so nobly sustained the cause of rational liberty and responsible government!*

IV

Novascotian, Oct. 28, 1830

The Province of Nova-Scotia has now pronounced a solemn decision of [*sic*] this important question [the revenue dispute]. The voice of the country has nobly sustained the cause of rational and responsible government . . . *twenty-nine men, either belonging to the old House, or pledged to support the opinions of the majority upon the Revenue Question, have been returned, to take the place of the thirty-three—while the two men whom the patronizing powers of the Council permitted to try the sense of the country, have been thrown out of the Assembly.*

Opinions on the Canadian Crisis, 1837

Documents V to X are typical expressions of Nova Scotian opinion on Canadian affairs in 1837. The *Acadian recorder* and the *Pictou Bee* on the one hand and the *Halifax Times* on the other voice the views of extreme reformers and tories, while the *Novascotian* records the general disapproval of force as a method of change.

V

Acadian recorder, July 1, 1837

The 83d embarked on board of His Majesty's ships *Vestal* and *Champion*, which sailed on Thursday. Their destination is Canada. It seems Lord Gosford will not lift the lid of the Public Chest till it bristles with fire-arms. The Canada Bill and the Soldier's Bayonet are not ill associated. We fear Lord Brougham has had too much cause to characterize the late measure of Government as breathing the spirit of the Act that instigated the old Colonies to become a Nation.

VI

Pictou Bee, July 3, 1837

All the disposable force of Great Britain will not keep the Canadas a single year against their will; besides, the first drop of blood that is shed in this unholy and unpopular cause, will be the signal for revolution in Great Britain.

VII

Pictou Bee, Nov. 15, 1837

[After criticizing the concentration of British troops in Lower Canada, the *Bee* urged the imperial government to make a graceful retreat with the following benediction:] Since we have utterly failed in governing you agreeably to your wishes, and cannot now compromise the dignity of the Crown, by conceding your demands, we will give you the reins into your own hands, and thenceforth will cultivate the most friendly feelings towards you, and wish that every success may attend you.

VIII

Acadian recorder, Dec. 9, 1837

The discontent of Lower Canada has at last come to a crisis; blood has been shed, and the standard of revolt unfurled. Being thus openly defied it cannot be expected that the British Government will now attempt any other means of

pacifying Canada, than force. The present Ministry will have to answer for the calamities of a civil war which, ere it be terminated, will cause the immolation of thousands of lives and the destruction of a vast amount of treasure, in a vain endeavour to suppress the determination of the people of Canada—though they are not unanimous—to wear the yoke of independence no longer.

IX

Halifax Times, Dec. 12, 1837

It is a wrong opinion entertained by some, that a decided expression on Canadian affairs, in behalf of British supremacy, carries with it a sanguinary spirit. It might have been all very well, when peaceable agitation was the order of the day—when nothing more dangerous to the connexion with the Mother Country appeared, than public meetings or parliamentary opposition, for men to stand aloof, who either could not or would not see the lengths to which such proceedings were intended to lead. But when the mask has been thrown off, and rebellion stalks openly abroad—when the Canadian French, and their few renegade tools, have become open traitors, and law and the power of Government is set at defiance, there is no excuse for a middle conduct; the path of duty becomes too plain to be mistaken,—*he that is not for us must be against us!*—and no language can be too strong, no action too decided, in reprobation of the traitors.

X

Novascotian, Dec. 14, 1837

. . . the Reformers of Nova Scotia, by no *act, word or deed*, are in the *most remote degree*, responsible for or implicated in the present unfortunate posture of affairs in Lower Canada. They have all along, and they now, too well understand their position—and what is due to the peace and improvement of their Country, to sanction or countenance any measures but such as are in accordance with their legal and constitutional rights, and which shall commend themselves to the sound sense and discretion of the vast majority of the People of Nova Scotia.

Expressions of Loyalty, 1838

Documents XI and XII are two of the many reports of loyal meetings held in the Maritime Provinces during and after the Canadian rebellions. The comment on the Irishmen of New Brunswick is rather surprising. Documents XIII and XIV indicate the complete change that had come over the two editors of the *Acadian recorder*, English and Blackadar, who, by the way, were too young to remember the régime of the Duke of Kent, one time military commander, but never governor of Nova Scotia.

XI

Halifax Times, Jan. 9, 1838

Public meetings have been held in Chatham, Miramichi, at Bathurst, Bay Chaleur, County of Gloucester, for the purpose of expressing attachment to the

Sovereign, and indignation at the course pursued by the Canada traitors. We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of publishing the Resolutions of that held at Bathurst. . . . [the Resolutions which follow express undying loyalty and assure "His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief" that if he "thinks fit" to honor the good people of Bathurst with his commands, he will find, "if not '*hands prepared*', at least '*hearts resolved*' to maintain the queen's authority, at the sacrifice of property and life".] A meeting of the Officers and privates of the 1st. Batt. Gloucester Co. Militia, had also been held, expressing a desire to act whenever called upon in the cause of their country, and requesting that 500 stand of arms, with their accoutrements and ammunition, should be forwarded to make them effective. The St. Patrick's Society of St. John, have imitated their brethren at Fredericton, and presented a loyal Address to the Governor. Irishmen are never slow in a cause in which their hearts are interested.

XII

Novascotian, Jan. 11, 1838

We insert, to day, the proceedings of Public Meetings, (similar to that convened at Mason Hall) which have been held in the Town of Pictou, the Upper Settlement of the West River, and at Truro in the County of Colchester [a footnote adds Lunenburg]—from which it will be seen that the Inhabitants of all these places have met on "the common ground", that of disapprobation of armed and bloody rebellions,—and expressed the "common sentiment", of loyalty and attachment to our Queen, and the principles of the Constitution under which we live. This is as it should be; and proves that the Members resident in the Capital did not exceed the bounds of propriety, when they pledged their belief, in the address signed with their names, that such were the feelings and opinions of the entire population. Other Meetings will probably be held, and we shall endeavour to publish the proceedings to as full an extent as our limits will allow.

XIII

Acadian recorder, May 12, 1838

THE CORONATION.—How will it be observed in Halifax? The father of our beloved Queen was Governor of this Colony—resided among us, and is remembered with affection by many of its inhabitants. Added to this, the consideration of recent events, imperatively calls upon the Provinces to make a demonstration of feeling, more striking than usual, on the day of the ceremonial.

XIV

Acadian recorder, Extra, July 2, 1838

It has never fallen to our lot to attempt a more pleasing, and at the same time a more difficult task than that which now devolves upon us, to describe what took place in our loyal town of Halifax upon the recent celebration of the Queen's Coronation. It is a *pleasing* duty, because we there saw acted out those deep impressions of loyal and affectionate attachment to the Crown and Government of the British Empire which we have always expressed to be the feeling of the Capital and Province of Nova Scotia. The *difficulty* lies in doing equal and full justice to all who deserve so much praise for the share which they took in promoting the festivities of that delightful day.

*Comments on Lord Durham's Scheme of a General
Colonial Union, 1838*

Documents XV to XVIII are extracts from editorials on the question of union among the colonies which, on the whole, seemed to stir up little interest. The academic approach in the *Novascotian* of May 24, 1838, was probably written by the *pro tem.* editor, John S. Thompson. Howe had left for England in April and on his return in November he was strangely silent on the subject.

XV

Novascotian, May 24, 1838

Short of a monarchy, or a republic, in the Colonies, neither of which will be entertained by sane heads, for, perhaps some centuries to come,—and in place of the present disunion, and continued and varied appeals across the Atlantic, some such measures as the Federal Union with local Legislatures and in close connection with the Imperial Government, appears most promising of all the schemes started.

XVI

Halifax Times, Sept. 18, 1838

We are glad to find, with the exception of the *Novascotian*, which came out in favor of the measure, that the press of the Lower Provinces, have either spoken boldly against the Federal Union scheme of Lord Durham, or else have maintained a silence, which shows that the subject is not at all suited to the general taste, if it have individual supporters.

XVII

Pictou Observer, Oct. 23, 1838

The semblance of a connection with Britian could not be maintained for five years under such a system; and besides this grand objection, we have the motley conclave of delegates from each Province, ignorant of each and each other's laws nay, even, of each other's language, urging the respective claims of their Provinces, with a discordancy of purpose, matter, and tongue, which, to our imagination, would be extremely undignified, and little calculated to advance colonial prosperity.

XVIII

Acadian recorder, Dec. 15, 1838

[Union] would break down numberless local and petty monopolies that militate against the general prosperity of the country. It would give the Colonies, in a national point of view, a standing respectable, influential and commanding. Inter-colonial commerce would receive an impulse, tempered with confidence at once wholesome and meritorious. Public enterprise would no longer be suffered to dwindle by the dwarfish views of narrow-minded legislators. In a word, we should hail in such a consummation the dawn of a brighter and better day upon British America.

*Illustrations of Confidence and Contentment in the
Maritime Provinces*

Document XIX is an extract from an editorial in the *Saint John chronicle* which suggests the prosperity and pride then prevalent in the loyalist province. Document XX is an extract from an editorial written by Howe shortly after his return from England and Europe. It is evident that he had lost none of his stout local patriotism during his travels in the old world.

XIX

Saint John chronicle, quoted in the *Novascotian*, Jan. 12, 1837

We believe that the closing year has been one of unprecedented success in Commercial, Banking, and other pursuits, in connexion with the general welfare of our highly favoured Province. Proud are we to assert, that we know of no place of equal dimensions in His Majesty's widely extended territories, that can boast of so much enterprize and expenditure of capital in praiseworthy and laudable pursuits, as are exhibited to the commercial world by our little Province of New-Brunswick. Onward is the signal of our men of business, and for which the Merchant, the Artizan, the Mechanic, and the Labourer, are daily and energetically pressing into the march. No capital is here permitted to sleep, and the impetus that is given to all classes by its general circulation, is visible to every observing mind.

XX

Novascotian, Nov. 15, 1838

It is satisfactory to us, as a Nova Scotian, to be able to state that we have seen no country more richly endowed with natural resources than our own—none where the ordinary pleasures and luxuries of life may be more easily earned with moderate exertion—and none where a man can more securely "sit under his own vine and his own fig tree", with no one "to make him afraid". This is something,—what we have not got, and cannot obtain, like wise men we must be contented without—for what we have, when we fairly balance our situation with that of others, we have much reason for thankfulness and content.

DR. JOHN ROLPH'S OWN ACCOUNT OF THE FLAG OF TRUCE
INCIDENT IN THE REBELLION OF 1837

History has not yet arrived at a settled conviction as to the "flag of truce" incident in the Upper Canadian Rebellion of 1837. Even the facts are in dispute, to say nothing of purpose and motives. Yet a clearer understanding of just what happened would help to resolve certain perplexing problems in connection with the insurrection.

An unpublished account of the incident has recently come to my attention. It was written by Dr. John Rolph himself late in life, on the blank pages of what was apparently a medical dictionary he had in preparation. It did not come into the hands of John Charles Dent with the other Rolph papers, and was not used in the preparation of his *Story of the Upper Canadian Rebellion*. He secured it later from Mr. Thomas T. Rolph and pasted it in his own copy of the work now in the possession of his son, Mr. C. R. Dent. The account is incomplete, and was not prepared for publication. It differs somewhat from the account which Dent with scholarly care worked out from the materials available (II, 62-4, 69-91).

Rolph's account is the more interesting because he showed little inclination to speak of the rebellion, either during his exile of five years, or after his return to his medical practice and teaching in Toronto and later to public life as a minister of the crown. He was a silent man, who habitually kept his own counsel. After returning to Toronto in 1843 he avoided being drawn into any public discussion as to the part played by himself or others in 1837, until in 1852 W. H. Boulton, with entire irrelevance, taunted him across the floor of the house with having played the part of a traitor in the conduct of the "flag of truce". At the time he made a brief statement and secured from Hugh Carmichael, the bearer of the flag, a written account of the two missions which confirmed his good faith. He did not, however, either at this time or later undertake any general recital of what took place during these eventful days and weeks.

The paper now published must stand, then, as Rolph's sole excursion into the history of the rebellion, unless indeed his argument prompted by certain publications of Mackenzie, found in rough draft among Rolph's papers after his death, and appearing as an appendix in Dent's work, may be considered as such. The present paper would seem to afford important evidence to support the view that he was not closely connected with the planning or execution of the abortive attack on the city. It is necessary to recall the circumstances. It was Tuesday morning. The previous night Colonel Moodie and Captain Anderson had been shot down on the outskirts of the city. The yeomen of the home district were in arms on Yonge street. The extent of the rising was not yet known, but the city was held in a great fear. Marshall Spring Bidwell, the foremost lawyer in the province, had been for eighteen months determined in his renunciation of politics. He lived next

door to Rolph on Lot (Queen) street. They were close friends and their wives also were intimate. It is difficult to believe that if Rolph had been active in planning the insurrection Bidwell could have been ignorant of the fact, or that in the tenseness and suspicion of that Tuesday morning he would have gone to Rolph's house. Yet that is where we find him. Robert Baldwin also. He had been out of politics since he and Rolph and Dunn had withdrawn from Head's council after a fortnight's experience of that worthy's methods. During the summer and autumn he had refrained, like Rolph, from any part in the meetings held at Doel's by those who were coming to despair of reform. He would never be a party to rebellion. Yet he came to Rolph's house, when summoned, and accompanied Rolph with the flag of truce. It may be asserted that he would have refused so to do had he dreamed of any complicity on Rolph's part, and that he would never have consented to the second mission had anything improper occurred on the first, as was later, and I think quite unjustly, alleged.

Another new and important fact emerges from Rolph's statement. It has generally been supposed that Head's change of attitude as to the amnesty was due to the fact that he had been playing for time and that his confidence was somewhat restored as the day proceeded. Rolph here says that the change in attitude was the result, so it was stated, of constitutional objections raised by Head's legal advisers to any commitment in writing. The lawyers are not named. Hagerman certainly would be included, and probably Sullivan, Draper, Judge Jones, and Chief Justice Robinson. Whether they were merely too wedded to form or were guilty of playing a deep and relentless game, they were placing a just rod for their backs in the hands of Durham and Sydenham. A little wisdom and forbearance in this hour would have saved Canada the terrible events of 1838.

C. B. SISSONS

Victoria College, Toronto.

On the day of ¹ 1837, the then sheriff Jarvis called upon me² to know "what could be done to prevent the shedding of blood".

The Honble M. S. Bidwell was present.

It was observed by Mr. Bidwell and myself that "it was the extreme principles of Mr. Jarvis' party which had brought things to such a crisis".

¹On Tuesday, the fifth day of December.

²Nothing is said of a previous conversation between Jarvis and James Hervey Price. If prominent Reformers were required for the mission, Rolph, Bidwell, and either of the Baldwins would naturally be first approached.

Mr. Jarvis admitted it,³ and hoped there would be more forbearance and liberality on both sides if we could only get over present difficulties.

I stated that I was willing in any way to avert impending evils.

After some conversation to the same purport, I pointed out that after any accommodation we effected, the people might be subjected to prosecutions and persecutions for which we might be regarded as responsible actors.

The Honble Mr. Baldwin was called upon to join us, Mr. Jarvis doing so.

Mr. Jarvis also announced that he had the authority of Sir F. B. Head to offer "to prevent [?] the effusion of blood and to offer an amnesty upon peaceably going to their homes".

I proposed to go with Sheriff Jarvis, but he doubted his personal safety, and objected that his official position might render him personally obnoxious; and this especially with Mr. Mackenzie. That these objections would not lie against me as a partisan.

This was admitted; tho it was urged that it would give greater weight and credit to the proposed mission.

Mr. Bidwell was proposed. But he declined, stating the case of Lord George Gordon in the time of George the Third, and that his case might be his own.

Mr. Baldwin, who had arrived, accepted the proposition.

It was agreed that he and I should be the bearers of the flag of truce with the message above stated.

Mr. Carmichael⁴ was chosen as the carrier of the flag.

The conduct of the flag is given by [him] with great exactness.

The repeal of the amnesty was communicated to us by Mr. Jarvis, who expressed his regret.

It was said at the time that Sir F. B. Head could not legally or constitutionally do it, in the opinion of the Lawyers.

Honble Mr. Baldwin's observation in the House in Montreal in the year 1849. . . .⁵

³William Botsford Jarvis was a partisan, but a man of good heart. His tears in the death cell on the morning of the execution of Lount and Matthews do him credit.

⁴Hugh Carmichael, a carpenter of Toronto. The account given by him was certified by Dr. W. T. Aikins on August 30, 1852. Rolph does not permit himself to comment on the statement secured (or extorted) by the treason commission from Lount, or on that secured from Baldwin, which as preserved curiously enough begins only at the second trip to the insurgents. The form of these statements lends some colour to Dent's conclusion that the commission was inclined to record only such evidence as served the purpose of the government.

⁵The statement breaks off here. See Dent's note on the personal relations between Baldwin and Rolph (*Upper Canadian Rebellion*, II, 312 and n.); also letter by Rolph's widow in the *Toronto Globe*, Sept. 17, 1887.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

SOME RECENT BOOKS ON MODERN ENGLISH HISTORY

- The Life of Lord Carson.* By IAN COLVIN. Vol. III. New York: Macmillan Co. [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada.] 1937. Pp. 463. (\$5.00)
- Helen's Tower.* By HAROLD NICOLSON. London: Constable and Co. [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada.] 1937. Pp. xii, 292. (\$5.00)
- War Memoirs.* By DAVID LLOYD GEORGE. Vols. V and VI. London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson. 1936. Pp. xiii, 624; xxi, 463.
- Britain in Europe, 1789 to 1914: A Survey of Foreign Policy.* By R. W. SETON-WATSON. London: Cambridge University Press. [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada.] 1937. Pp. ix, 716. (\$9.00)
- England Goes to Press: The English People's Opinion on Foreign Affairs as Reflected in Their Newspapers Since Waterloo (1815-1937).* By RAYMOND POSTGATE and AYLMER VALLANCE. New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1937. Pp. 337. (\$2.75)
- The Radical Tory: Disraeli's Political Development Illustrated from his Original Writings and Speeches.* By H. W. J. EDWARDS. London: Jonathan Cape. [Toronto: Thomas Nelson.] 1937. Pp. 320. (\$2.75)
- Sources of English Constitutional History: A Selection of Documents from A.D. 600 to the Present.* Edited and translated by CARL STEPHENSON and FREDERICK G. MARCHAM. New York and London: Harper. [Toronto: Musson Book Co.] 1937. Pp. xxxiv, 906. (\$4.50)

IF anything more was needed to mark the depth of the cleavage between the pre-war and the post-war eras, it is being provided in the steady accumulation of memoirs and biographies dealing with the leading figures in British politics during the past generation. With their translation of the problems into personal terms, these studies reveal with tragic clarity the helplessness of the older statesmen amid the ruins of a once familiar world. Whatever answer they may have had to the problems of their own day, they had none to the alien and alarming conditions which followed the war; and the careers of such men as Asquith and Grey and Balfour close, not with a tranquil sense of permanent accomplishment, but rather on a note of bewildered futility.

The concluding volume of *The life of Lord Carson* only reinforces this impression. It covers a period of great events and of critical decisions which found Carson time after time in the centre of the picture. Yet for all that, the story has neither the lively charm of the first volume on Carson's early life nor the compact drama of the Unionist fight against home rule. It finds Carson too often groping his way along unfamiliar paths in a world where his one major preoccupation has been overwhelmed by issues beyond his capacity to master.

It is true that he played a vital part on more than one occasion. He had his share in the decision of the Unionist party which, embodied in Bonar Law's letter to Asquith on August 2, 1914, played its part in deciding a wavering cabinet to enter the war. His withdrawal from the Asquith coalition on the ostensible ground of its failure to support Serbia helped greatly to weaken that ramshackle structure. His attitude was of major importance in bringing about the fall of Asquith and creating the war cabinet under Lloyd George. But on the larger issues of policy

he showed no real talent for taking a constructive initiative or playing a dominant part in the conduct of the war. He has his views on the questions of munitions, of Gallipoli, of the importance of the western front, but they never have a decisive influence. He plays no major role in either the admiralty or the war cabinet, just as later he leaves no mark on the work of the privy council. He is a dominant figure only in one field, and that is the Irish question. Here is the touchstone which is always decisive in his policy, and which always calls forth his most vigorous efforts; and the real value of the present volume is to show how this disruptive issue continued all during the war to harass the government with the spectre of barely suspended civil war. Mr. Colvin's account of Carson's policy may leave the reader unconvinced of its wisdom, but it pictures with admirable clarity and sobriety the difficulties of decision involved in the situation, and leaves one with a full understanding of the feeling of tremendous sacrifice with which Carson accepted the final settlement.

The idea that the struggle against home rule was somehow a great imperial issue constantly runs through Unionist pronouncements. It is always a little difficult to trace a real interest in this wider cause; and certainly in the case of Carson there is little sign that he ever thought in truly imperial terms. But *Helen's tower* offers a portrait of another Ulsterman for whom the imperial sphere became, almost fortuitously, the scene of his life's work. This study by Harold Nicolson of his uncle, first Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, has a touch of uniqueness in its presentation. It is offered as a phase of his own memoirs, with his personal recollections forming the starting point for a biological study. But it is also, says Mr. Nicolson, "not the history of a great public servant, but a study in transitions"; transitions both in the character of Lord Dufferin and in the age of which he was a part.

Given that approach, one must expect the factual record of events to be subordinated to atmosphere and to personal impressions. The facts are sketched in outline; but the record of Lord Dufferin's work in Egypt and India is reduced to the barest minimum; while his period as governor-general of Canada is summed up in ten pages characterized by a somewhat imperfect awareness of the real issues which confronted him during his term of office.

What the author really does, and does admirably, is to re-create a sense of the development of the Victorian age from the early days when the tradition of the eighteenth century still lingered to the closing decades when triumphant industrialism was beginning to feel its first serious qualms about the future. Both the records of Lord Dufferin's activities and personality and the author's own childhood memories (usually inseparable from Miss Plimsoll) form admirable media through which, as by a stereoscopic process, the age itself stands out in curious perspective. The author's charm of anecdote unites with his gift for description (there are word-pictures of various Victorian rooms, especially at Clondeboyne, which catch completely the spirit of the subject) to create exactly the atmosphere of the period. It is not a book that adds anything to the known facts; it is a study whose success is on the literary rather than the historical side; but its success as a portrait of a courtly proconsul in an era of vanished lavishness is one complete in its artistry.

The concluding volumes of Mr. Lloyd George's *War memoirs* round out a unique contribution to the history of our own times. Few eras have been more lavish in personal apologia, and the future historian will find himself encompassed with a great cloud of contradictory and none too charitable witnesses. Among

them Mr. Lloyd George has many advantages, not the least of which is that of having the last word. Practically all his contemporaries who desired to speak have already spoken. Most of them have made a permanent exit from the stage. Mr. Lloyd George occupies it almost alone; and if his monologue has something the quality of a peroration, that is only to be expected from one who played such a central part in the drama he describes.

For it is essentially dramatic. Its theme is one of ceaseless conflict against besetting odds, with the fate of civilization hanging on the issue. These final volumes carry the story from the dreary aftermath of Passchendaele through the effort to meet the new menace created by the Bolshevik revolution and the peace of Brest Litovsk. There is an account—not wholly convincing as an explanation—of the steps leading to Allied intervention in Russia; the struggle with Pershing over the manner in which American troops should be utilized; the muddle which led to the defeat of the Fifth Army in March, 1918; the creation of a unified command under Foch; the final turning of the tide, and the imposition of the armistice which brings the story to an end.

It is still a controversial story. Many of its pages are devoted to a refutation of the charges brought against the author and to the counter-charges, especially against the military authorities, which are so marked a feature throughout the whole six volumes. A special chapter is devoted to the Haig diaries and their accusations. The defence is not always completely convincing, and Mr. Lloyd George leaves gaps in his evidence which would prove damaging under cross-examination. Yet with all their faults of temper and interpretation, these memoirs remain an invaluable contribution to the history of the period. They embody a mass of material of unassailable authenticity. They give a vivid picture of the gigantic task of wartime organization. And if they seldom under-rate the author's own contribution, they still leave an inefaceable impression of the dynamic personality whose services as war premier will occupy a notable place in history. The account is primarily concerned with Great Britain and the British government; but the imperial nature of the war is fully recognized, and there is a panegyric on the Canadian troops which is an unstinted tribute to their accomplishments in the field.

Dr. Seton-Watson's study of British foreign policy in the nineteenth century is one of those rare volumes which must be welcomed without any reservations whatever. The subject has long cried out for an authoritative treatment, and this book eminently fulfils the need. The remark of the publishers, that it covers in one volume the ground covered by the three volumes of the *Cambridge history of British foreign policy*, does it less than justice. It is fully as authoritative; it is better balanced; it shows a truer perspective; and it possesses a coherence lacking in the composite work. The main body of its treatment is concerned with the period 1815-78, with an introductory chapter on Britain's continental policy, especially during the Napoleonic period, and an admirable brief summary of developments from the congress of Berlin to the outbreak of the war. It is frankly concerned with European diplomacy, and in consequence there is little on relations with the United States or the issues in which Canada is particularly involved. But the general bearing of imperial interests on the problems of diplomacy is clearly appreciated, and the conclusions drawn by such statesmen as Palmerston and Disraeli are treated in an admirably critical fashion. There is a sweep of vision which is fully as impressive as the breadth of knowledge which the author displays. As one would expect, his passages on the Near Eastern question are

of especial value, but on all essential issues his treatment is unimpeachably sound; and he has constantly in view the bearing of domestic politics on foreign policy—a factor too often neglected in a treatment of this sort.

I wish it were possible to recommend *England goes to press* as a useful supplementary volume in the field of foreign affairs. The intention behind it is excellent. It is meant to be a survey of popular opinion with respect to the doings of "These Foreigners" (that, in fact, was the title of the English edition) during the past century. Unhappily it falls far short of its objective. The extracts may be interesting or amusing on their own account; but their selection is governed by no discernible principle. Neither the importance of events nor the authoritative quality of the pronouncement seems to be a criterion; and space is devoted to Mehemet Ali or the Opium war when such things as Italian and Polish affairs, the Austro-Prussian war, the formation of the Triple Alliance, and even the Kruger telegram, are passed over in silence. The publishers describe the volume as "a history of the foreign policy of the English people". It may be doubted whether the English people, as distinct from their government, have a foreign policy; and if they have, one could never discover from these pages just what it is.

The radical tory represents a more useful type of documentary study. It is a collection of extracts from the speeches and writings of Disraeli during the first twenty years of his political career—the period when his philosophic toryism was in process of formation, and before he undertook to carry out his principles in concrete measures. It is also, incidentally, the period before he thought of becoming the prophet of the new imperialism. Mr. Edwards precedes these extracts with an admirably forceful introduction which would be extremely persuasive if it were not for the way in which its very clarity of statement unconsciously reveals the sophisms in Disraeli's creed. The quotations themselves are most useful illustrations of the main trends in Disraeli's thoughts, including as they do passages not only from his speeches, but also from the early political novels. A series of such volumes on the statesmen of the Victorian era would be extremely welcome to both the student and the teacher of that period.

For students of English constitutional history a most serviceable collection of documents is at hand in the volume by Stephenson and Marcham. Although other documentary collections are available in this field, there is no single volume which covers quite the same scope. A wide range of material has been gathered together which illustrates the most salient aspects of constitutional development from the Anglo-Saxon period to the present day. There are inevitably certain criticisms of selection or arrangement which will be suggested by individual taste; but the few striking omissions are more than offset by the variety of the documents included. The extracts from parliamentary proceedings are a useful feature; and still more valuable are the selections from documents relating to colonial affairs, including a group of extracts on Canada from 1839 to 1859. Since it includes the records of the abdication, and the new coronation oath administered to George VI, the volume stands an excellent chance of being the definitive as well as the standard work in its field—at least for the next few years.

EDGAR MCINNIS

A History of Historical Writing. By HARRY ELMER BARNES. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press. 1937. Pp. xiii, 434. (\$3.50)

PROFESSOR HARRY ELMER BARNES in his preface describes his aim as being "to characterize the intellectual background of each major period of human advance

in western civilization, show how the historical literature of each period has been related to its parent culture, point out the dominant traits of the historical writing in each era, indicate the advances, if any, in historical science, and then make clear the individual contributions of the major historical writers of the age". He begins with a chapter on the origins of historical writing, and continues with chapters on Greek and Roman, early Christian, medieval and humanist historiography. The bulk of the book is, however, concerned with the last hundred and fifty years. Here, after chapters on rationalist, romanticist, and liberal-national historical writing, he turns to describe the rise of modern critical history, of *Kulturgeschichte*, the influence of modern science and the "social sciences", on historical writing, and the "new history".

This is a difficult book to assess. It claims to be the only book of its kind in any language, and no one would deny either the courage of the author in attempting so large a project, or the evidence of solid work and wide reference in it. The best part of the book is that which describes the contributions of modern science, and in particular of the "social sciences" to historical writing. This is the field in which the author is probably most at home. But in these days of specialization in historical work any book which attempts to cover the whole field is bound to evoke criticism, especially when the author exhibits so vehement and controversial a temper. The title of the volume is not entirely accurate, since it does not, pardonably enough, include either Chinese or Indian historiography. The account of medieval historiography well illustrates the problems involved by the wide programme of the preface: it is more detailed than a general sketch of development, but hardly adequate as a complete, scholarly account of the work of the various writers. There is no clear account, in more modern times, of such a major topic as the influence of nationalism on historical writing, and the growth and importance of *Historismus* are nowhere explained. The views of Arnold Toynbee find no mention. The "new biography" (and Strachey and Maurois) are not mentioned, but, on the other hand, the role of the "new history" and the influence of J. Harvey Robinson are over-estimated, at all events in a general survey of this kind. Equally out of proportion is the inclusion of a controversial chapter on "The world war: The fall and rise of historical scholarship". Amongst matters of greater detail it may be noted that the reference to Canadian historical work (p. 235) is a little misleading. There is no mention of Hall and Stow as chroniclers, of Cellini as autobiographer, of Griffet or Bauer as methodologists. There are slips such as (p. 51) the "Epistle" of Mark; the description of Polydore Vergil's work, as a history of the reign of Henry VII, is hardly accurate; the indexing is not impeccable, as reference to (e.g.) Ritter, Taine, and de Tocqueville will show. It would obviously be unfair to criticize such a work for not including the names of all and every historian of note. But there is more than a little disparity between the marked fullness of mention of American historians, and the omission of the names of (amongst others) Gasquet, Powicke, G. N. Clarke, A. J. Grant, Lipson, or Williamson for Britain; of such men as Paul Matter or La Roncière for France; of Schnabel, Wilhelm Mommsen, or A. O. Meyer for Germany.

In general the book arouses doubt whether it is not, on the one hand, too detailed in reference for the beginner or general reader, who would be better served by Croce's general sketch, or a translation of Ritter's *Die Entwicklung der Geschichtswissenschaft*; and, on the other hand, not complete or impartial enough for the more advanced scholar, who is served by a variety of more specialized works.

R. FLENLEY

The Development of Dominion Status, 1900-1936. Edited by ROBERT MACGREGOR DAWSON. London, Toronto, New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xiv, 466. (\$5.00)

MR. R. M. DAWSON has already achieved distinction as a contributor to the literature of political science and government, and he has been specially successful for two reasons. He has always avoided purely descriptive writing and an approach which has made these subjects pure waste of students' and readers' time. Secondly, he has had the wisdom, not always evident in those of his profession, to avoid legal subjects, knowing full well that law, with all its faults and shortcomings, requires legal training. The volume under review is in the nature of a sequel to his *Constitutional issues in Canada, 1900-1931* (Oxford, 1933). Indeed, its title is far too broad, for, throughout, the emphasis is on Canadian issues. He has made one great improvement in technique in that he has prefaced the book with a long introduction which takes the place of the short and broken notes which held together the material in the companion work.

The selection of documents is catholic and discriminating. It shows wide reading, careful judgment, a fine sense of utility, and an entire absence of partisanship and of wilful *suppresio veri*. There can be only one verdict in this connection. The volume is a welcome and reliable work of reference; and it can be thoroughly recommended not only to the more professional classes but to the average citizen. The material collected ought to do much to clear the air amid issues that are complex and to prevent statements being made which are not entirely based on facts. In addition, its reading ought to help to show that in the heaven of commonwealth there are many mansions.

The introduction is accurate and careful. It is somewhat of a *tour de force*, as the thirty-six years with which it deals are thick with movements and problems which, as yet, defy anything like adequate treatment. To have attempted to survey them in little over a hundred pages is heroic; and its says much for Mr. Dawson's skill when we can praise him for what he has done. Doubtless the canvas is crowded, and facts follow one another with such persistency that significances are obscured. On the other hand, Mr. Dawson is aware of them and the general impression left by the introduction is that of movement, of growth, of evolution—complex, it is true, and not along precise lines, but towards something, on the whole, worthy and endowed with social purpose. There are notes in this introduction which perhaps might better be left unsounded. Canada has achieved statehood; and the responsibility of that place may well endow its students with dignity in expression and a purpose to remember that mistakes, if such there have been, and errors in interpretation, if such have taken place, are not peculiar to any particular state,—not even to a "Mother Country". We welcome the book sincerely; and we may be forgiven if we say that we trust that Mr. Dawson will soon bring his distinguished talents, which this volume so abundantly discloses, to bear on some of the untilled fields in Canadian government.

W. P. M. KENNEDY

Chatham House: A Brief Account of the Origins, Purposes, and Methods of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. By STEPHEN KING-HALL. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xii, 144. (\$1.50)

THE name of the Royal Institute of International Affairs will be found throughout the numbers of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, as it must be in every publication concerned with the recent history of any part of the world. As Canada has come

to extend and to appreciate the importance of her relations with the outside world, so her people must turn to the organizations which, in the post-war years, have endeavoured to clarify for a widening circle of listeners and readers the conditions and issues in a complicated world.

A generation, disillusioned not without reason, tends to feel that nothing good has been learnt from the war of 1914; but even if no other positive gain can be shown, it is something that laymen have learnt to study the international affairs of states which formerly they had been generally ready to leave to governments. During the peace conference at Paris, members of the British and United States delegations, both impressed with the same idea, met together and resolved to establish an institute of international affairs. Subsequently it was thought to be more feasible to have a separate institute in each country, and the parallel in New York to the Royal Institute in London was the Council on Foreign Relations.

The Royal Institute (or British Institute, as it was first called) started work in small quarters, which steadily expanded as the staff and work grew. In 1923 a Canadian, Colonel R. W. Leonard, gave to the institute a house in St. James's Square, in which Chatham once lived, and to which his name has now been given. This house, with additions and adjoining houses, is proving insufficient for what is now a large staff; and at the same time the income of the R.I.I.A. is not yet enough for the work which it is felt it can usefully do. It is proposed, therefore, to raise an endowment fund, and it is in connection with this that Commander King-Hall has written this little volume.

A book-review is not the place in which to argue whether or not to contribute to this or any other fund. It may be permitted, however, to go beyond a description of this book—excellent as it is—and to suggest the place taken by the Royal Institute (and similar organizations) in the study of history. For those to whom all events since 1870 must be ranked as current politics, such institutes may seem to be sailing under false colours by being described as engaged in historical research; but to others there is an element of fascination as well as practical value in reading the most recent chapter of a story which may have begun centuries ago. That, however, must remain a moot point, as must the validity of the sources available for the historian of the post-war years.

Of the diverse activities of Chatham House, meetings, large and small, appeal to those who can attend. The library can likewise be available only to a limited number. Conferences are the immediate concern of a handful of people. The information department is widely used, and is more obviously concerned with historical matter. For the student of history Chatham House must be judged as a means of collecting, sifting, discussing, and interpreting material, much of which would have been irrevocably lost without the stimulus of an organization. Of the publications of the R.I.I.A. the first place in importance must be given to the masterly *Surveys of international affairs* written by Professor Arnold Toynbee. The companion volumes of *Documents on international affairs* are standard collections of source-material. A number of monographs appear from time to time on particular topics, and in addition there are printed or mimeographed pamphlets on subjects of current interest. Several study groups' reports have been published, such as the most recent one on *The British Empire*. A recent addition to the list of publications is the *Survey of British Commonwealth relations*, the first volume of which is written by Professor W. K. Hancock. Of a character somewhat different to the other publications is Professor Toynbee's *Study of history*, which may reconcile to the work of the institute those who are less confident in the most modern period of history.

Valuable as are the works which it issues, the historical work of Chatham House covers a much wider field. The many questions answered by the information department, the material found in the library or in the newspaper clippings, and hints picked up at general or special meetings all find their way into numerous articles and books, some at least of which are on historical subjects. With its contemporaries like the Council on Foreign Relations, and affiliated bodies such as the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House provides a new type of historical organization, and one which has now passed beyond the phase of early experiment.

G. deT. GLAZEBROOK

Commons Debates, 1621. By WALLACE NOTESTEIN, FRANCES H. RELF, and HARTLEY SIMPSON. Vols. I-VII. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1935. (\$35.00)

THE work that Professor Notestein and his fellow editors have accomplished in these seven volumes will prove of almost inestimable value to every student of the history of seventeenth-century England. With loving care they have ransacked the repositories of historical material in their efforts to gather together everything that could be described as a narrative account of the proceedings of the house of commons during the parliament of 1621, or that might help to throw light on those proceedings. As a result, if these seven volumes are read in conjunction with the *Journals of the house of commons* and with Edward Nicholas' *Proceedings and debates . . . in 1620 and 1621*, the student of the period will be able to gain a fuller knowledge and understanding of the activities of the members of the house of commons in 1621 than is possible in regard to any other parliament in the sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries. Nor is it likely that any later discovery will be made that will add very substantially to our knowledge, so thorough have been the labours of the editors.

To the reader of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, concerned primarily with American history, the subject-matter of these debates will not provide the major interest, though he could find a good deal of importance in regard to Newfoundland, in regard to fishing voyages to the coasts of America and the actions of Sir Arthur Gorges, and especially in regard to the economic and administrative problems of New England and Virginia. Rather will he desire, however, to consider how editors of such experience as Professor Notestein and his colleagues have dealt with the somewhat difficult material at their disposal and have attempted to solve the perennial problems that arise in the printing of manuscripts *in extenso*. Including Nicholas and the commons' journals they were faced with some fourteen accounts of what the members were saying and doing during this parliament, accounts often differing very widely in detail, but naturally covering in general the same subject-matter. Should they all be printed in full? It was decided that that this must be done because the deficiencies of the individual diarists as reporters of speeches were often so great, that a phrase or even a mere word caught in one account, might cast a whole flood of light upon what a jumble of sentences in another account really meant. But the editors were not afraid to shoulder the responsibilities of editing. They selected two diaries, that between them covered the whole period of the session, to constitute a main account, Barrington's diary being used from April 18 to November 27, while the rest of the session with which Barrington does not deal (January 30 to April 17 and November 28 to December 19) is covered by the one referred to as "X". This

main account they rearranged where copyist's errors or misplaced sheets made it necessary, in order to give an ordered narrative of the proceedings day by day, though by preserving the page references of the original manuscripts they made it easy for the reader to see exactly what they had done. To the main account they appended practically all their footnotes, their cross-references to the other diaries where they might add further information, and their references to other illustrative material. In this way the student reading this main account and following such excursions to other diaries as are suggested in the footnotes can get a really complete picture of what went on. Moreover, there has been added one of the fullest and most admirably analysed indexes that an historical work has ever enjoyed, by means of which the reader can track down at once all the variant reports of any speech on any matter (see I, 117-9); needless to say this is absolutely vital to the intelligent use of such a work as this, and it might well serve as a model from a study of which most editors of original Canadian documents would profit very greatly.

In regard to the preservation of the original spelling, the editors have pursued the sensible policy of keeping it where the manuscript was that of the author or of a contemporary copyist, but of modernizing it where the surviving version was the work of a later copyist who could not even be dated. In the matter of punctuation they made as little change as possible, realizing what editors and proof-readers too often forget, that to adjust an author's punctuation to the rules of one's own taste is not only an impertinence, but an actual danger to the meaning that is implied in the arrangement of words that he has used.

The editors have promised a full introduction on the nature of the work and personnel of the house of commons in 1621 and in 1624 when they publish the diaries for the latter parliament; here they have confined themselves to discussing the nature of the diaries they are printing and the identification of their authors; this they have done admirably and one can accept their conclusions with complete safety, though the somewhat lengthy account of the life of John Smyth of Nibley, that paragon of sharp practices, seems rather out of place and might well have been omitted, especially as, unlike the rest of the introductory matter, it is written in very careless English—words like "reluctation" (p. 76), for instance, are inexcusable. But this is a small point and the editors are to be most heartily congratulated on having accomplished with distinction and success the lengthy task to which they had addressed themselves.

E. R. ADAIR

La Naissance d'une nation: Tableau du Canada en 1755. Par GÉRARD FILTEAU. Tome I. *Géographie et institutions*; Tome II. *Vie culturelle et vie économique.* (Documents historiques.) Montréal: Editions de l'A. C.-F., 1735 rue Saint Denis. 1937. Pp. 207, 235.

NEW FRANCE was in 1755 already a nation, a land of history and traditions, a people of distinctive views, living in a world of their own. Yet the reader curious to know about this nation of Canadians has had to search long and hard for information about the varied aspects of their life. Many historians have written about New France but until the appearance of M. Filteau's work there has been no convenient comprehensive picture of the French civilization of Canada. M. Filteau is a graduate of Laval University, and is at present a school inspector for the Quebec Department of Public Education. These two slim volumes fill a real gap and will be welcomed accordingly. To teachers of Canadian history they will be especially

acceptable since they form the only usable survey of the institutions, social structure, and culture of the French period. They could very profitably be translated into English and used as a supplementary text-book in the schools as well as providing good reading for the general public. The author makes no pretence to original research or to new views, but he has used original sources widely and well, and much of the material presented will be new to most readers, notably that on the cultural life. His style has apparently been influenced by Louis Hémon's *Maria Chapdelaine*, a citation from which stands at the beginning. The second volume ends with an ecstatic appreciation of "la Patrie" in quite the Hémon vein. This latter outburst is rather disturbing in an historical work but may be forgiven in view of the unquestionable value of the book, and its constant readability.

Assuming the part of a man of 1755 M. Filteau introduces us to the country with a geographical survey, writing as if we were contemporary friends in Old France anxious to know about the colony. He takes us from village to village along the St. Lawrence bringing his description to a climax with a compelling picture of Quebec and of the reception of a new governor, M. Vaudreuil (I, 59-60). A clear study of the political organization follows, including military, civil, and judicial institutions with an evaluation of French colonial policy and the reasons for relative failure to establish French institutions. The seigniorial system is outlined, and the position of the habitant in relation to it is stressed. The description of the May 1 celebration at a manor house is one of the best in the book (I, 143-4). Social lines are analysed and found to be nearly non-existent. The section on religious institutions is one of the fullest and most valuable of all, showing lucidly the interpenetration of all French-Canadian life by the church. This naturally brought great emphasis upon family life which is counted among the religious institutions.

The second volume dealing with cultural and economic life is of especial value inasmuch as it sets forth so much little-known information. The discussion of the educational organization shows a development comparable to that of the mother country and a zeal for learning unusual or unheard of among the common French people of the age. The rise of literature is shown to be hampered by pioneer conditions, but memoirs and religious writings flourished, and scientific essays such as those of Michel Sarrazin had begun to appear. Interest in the arts ran high. The Canadian developed his own style of civil architecture fitted to the needs of the country. The lack of trained architects was filled often by enterprising priests (II, 87-8). Wood-carving became the characteristic French-Canadian art. Few peoples have created the fund of folk-music conceived by these simple men and women. On the economic side the analysis of the monetary system into which paper money (card money) was introduced; the explanation of the difficulties facing the establishment of industries; the story of the rise of smuggling relations with the English colonies are of particular interest. Agriculture is adjudged the true foundation of the future national development but till 1755 it has been continuously hindered by the overwhelming concern with the fur trade. In conclusion we are shown the emergence of a truly Canadian type, a man with a keen sense of his individuality, and a growing resentment of the blind paternalism of Old France. A new nation has been born.

Very helpful bibliographies accompany each section. The reviewer wonders why important works by English-speaking writers have received little or no mention. Parkman is cited once, and the works of Professors Wrong and Innis not at all. The author's statement that "Many works are not acceptable because

of pre-conceived ideas, racial or political prejudices which prevent them from doing justice to the life of the old regime" (I, 11-2) would scarcely seem to justify such an exclusion. M. Filteau's effort to write as though he were a contemporary is interesting but it becomes at times artificial and once in a while breaks down. Why were two volumes necessary for a book that would make one volume of not unreasonable length? The discussion of the fur trade and the attendant life of the Frenchmen who went to the forests is the weakest part of the book, possibly because this trade is regarded as not contributing to the real foundation of the nation, and even as positively harmful to it. A fuller treatment of means of communications, the roads, and the mail service would have been worth while. By and large, however, M. Filteau has made a unique contribution to Canadian history of the highest worth and deserves our gratitude. We are pleased to note since writing this review that this book has been awarded the Montmorency-Laval prize in history for 1937.

R. M. SAUNDERS

Thomas Pichon, *"The Spy of Beauséjour": An Account of His Career in Europe and America with Many Original Documents.* By JOHN CLARENCE WEBSTER. Translated by ALICE WEBSTER. Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia. 1937. Pp. xviii, 161.

THE most interesting personality in relation to this book is its author, Dr. Clarence Webster. After a brilliant medical career in Chicago he retired to Shediac in his native province of New Brunswick, and there during many years he has been the enlightened good citizen, interested in everything that relates to public well-being; in the economic life of Canada and especially the acute problem of its railways, in art, in letters, in science, perhaps above all in history and in the preservation of public documents. He is an ardent collector and both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are indebted to him for personal and financial aid that he has given to house and expand their collections. Mrs. Webster has been her husband's enlightened ally and the translations in this book from the French are by her.

The book itself may be regarded as a by-product of Dr. Webster's studies. Shediac lies near the narrow peninsula where in 1755 British and French faced each other, the one in Fort Lawrence, the other in Fort Beauséjour across separating marshes. Pichon, a plausible, clever Frenchman of base character, was a civilian in the French service. He went to Louisbourg in August, 1751, and acquired knowledge that enabled him in 1760 to publish anonymously a work that still has value and was quickly translated into English under the title of *Genuine letters and memoirs relating to . . . Cape Breton and Saint John*. Pichon was sent to Beauséjour in November, 1753, and served there in the stores department without official rank. Perhaps already he was in traitorous communication with the British and he was soon sending reports to Fort Lawrence of what was happening at Beauséjour. He made friends with the Abbé Le Loutre, who was telling the Acadians that they must go northward into French territory rather than accept British rule in Nova Scotia. Pichon calls Le Loutre "Moses" because he was the destined leader of his people from bondage into French liberty. It can hardly be said that Pichon's spying reports were of much importance to the British. France was unwilling to spend adequately to defend Beauséjour, and when war, still undeclared but real, came in 1755 Beauséjour was easily taken and became Fort Cumberland. Beauséjour, as Parkman says, "was one of those plague-spots of official corruption which dotted the whole surface of New France". Across these pages flit Vergor, in command,

and the Intendant Bigot from Quebec who urged Vergor to "clip and cut" that later they might live in luxury in France. Soon after the fall of Beauséjour Pichon was sent to England. Though, to excuse his treachery to France, he took the name of Tyrrell as that of his reputedly English mother, the claim is false. He was wholly French in origin. A suspect, he dared not return to France, and he died in Jersey.

Dr. Webster has spared no pains in his researches. Pichon left three thousand books and his papers to the library of Vere, his native place, in Normandy. Many of the books were scattered during the Revolution but there hangs still the portrait of the rascal. A collection of his papers is in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. The editor has found other papers at Windsor Castle and also in the Huntington Library in California. Of all of these the ones that matter are given here in English translation, without the original French text, but with excellent notes. The papers include a long-drawn-out love story. A certain Madame de Beaumont, "a handsome, charming, cultivated Frenchwoman, engaged in literary pursuits" (p. 13), fell madly in love with Pichon, and we have here love letters that extend over a period of about twenty years from 1756. The letters are passionate and to the medical editor a study in sex-psychology. She died in 1780 and Pichon in 1781. A novelist might make a fascinating drama out of the story of Pichon the spy.

GEORGE M. WRONG

The Great Migration: The Atlantic Crossing by Sailing-ship since 1770. By EDWIN C. GUILLET. Toronto, London, New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1937. Pp. xii, 284. (\$4.00)

THIS is the picturesque title of a book abounding with vivid incidents and illustrations derived mainly from contemporary sources. It tells the story, both by narrative and picture, of the great migration from the British Isles to North America during the period from 1770 to about 1890 when approximately eleven million people came to these shores.

The main part of the book deals with the daily life and problems of the emigrant from the time he left his native land till he reached his new home in "the promised land". The preparation for the voyage, its difficulties and discomforts, the frauds practised by unscrupulous captains and agents—these and many other points are fully described. The course of the emigrant by the northern passage to the Grand Banks of Newfoundland is then followed in detail up the Gulf and River St. Lawrence to the quarantine station at Grosse Isle, established in 1831 to take care of the increasing tide of emigration already flowing to Quebec and Montreal. The conditions at these two main ports of entry are described, followed by an account of the journey by road and water into the interior of Canada. The southern passage to New York is then treated in similar detail, the arrival at Staten island which was used as a quarantine station until it was transferred to Ellis island in 1891, the passage up the Hudson river, a particularly interesting account of the famous Erie canal, opened in 1825, and of the canal boats which plied its waters until the middle of the century when the railway provided a faster and cheaper service for the emigrant to the west.

A concluding chapter describes with somewhat less detail other routes of inland settlement by which the frontiers of Canada and of the United States were steadily advanced. Brief mention is also made of the development of mechanical transportation, especially the steamer on inland waterways and the railway which speeded up tremendously the westward movement of population. A final chapter is added as an appendix which describes the transition from the wooden sailing ship, to the iron steam-and-sail ship, and finally to the era of the modern steel,

screw-propelled steamer; while the last illustration in the book brings us down to the present with a picture of the *Britannia*, launched by Cunard in 1840, side by side with the great *Queen Mary* launched in 1936.

While the story of development thus presented is one of great interest and value, one must confess to being rather confused at times by the different and frequently conflicting opinions expressed in many of the narratives selected by the author; and there is also left a feeling of uncertainty as to the correct interpretation or the basis of choice of the narratives, some of which appear to have been chosen principally for their picturesque qualities. These qualities will undoubtedly commend the book to the average reader; but the special student may at times feel a lack of proportion. This lack of proportion seems to the reviewer especially noticeable in the introductory chapters on the British background and assisted emigration. Conditions in the British Isles were admittedly terrible, especially during the so-called "hungry forties", and the lack of properly regulated emigration allowed serious abuses; but more explanation might be given of the special conditions that aggravated these difficulties over a comparatively limited period, and of the constructive efforts toward improvement during the period as a whole. For example, the land and emigration commissioners, officially created by the imperial government in 1840, made sincere efforts to correct the worst abuses and accomplished great improvement; so that, due partly to their efforts and partly to better conditions among the emigrants themselves, the toll of emigrant mortality to America by 1858 had been reduced to 0.19 per cent. Reference might also be made to the very substantial financial aid given by the imperial government to the North American colonies long after the principle of state-aided emigration had been abandoned. In 1848, for example, the imperial parliament voted the sum of £140,000 to reimburse the North American colonies for the exceptionally heavy expenses incurred in giving assistance to emigrants during the previous year.

The special student may also raise some points with regard to the bibliographical data. In listing newspaper and periodical materials no indication is given in most cases either of the date of publication or of the period more particularly covered; while such widely different publications as the *CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* and the *Queen's quarterly* are listed without date or explanation between the *Boston mail* and *Chambers' Edinburgh journal* (*sic*) on the one hand, and the *Quebec mercury* and the *Scottish historical review* on the other. One may also question the necessity of including titles like G. M. Trevelyan's *British history in the nineteenth century*, or Oxford and Asquith's *Memories and reflections*, especially if a publication like the *Colonization circular issued by her majesty's colonial land and emigration commissioners, 1843-1873* is to be omitted. This publication started as a modest little pamphlet of sixteen pages in 1843; by 1873 it had grown to a voluminous document containing over two-hundred pages, which is a valuable source of information on countless matters pertaining to emigration. This material is doubtless known to the author; but it might well have been included among the listed sources.

However, these are the objections principally of the professional historian rather than of the general reader, and both types of readers will undoubtedly find much pleasure and profit in the perusal of this volume. It is a colourful and stirring epic; and the author is to be highly commended in having brought together so effectively within the compass of a single volume the great story of trans-Atlantic migration and settlement in North America.

ARTHUR GARRATT DORLAND

1837—*The Birth of Canadian Democracy*. By STANLEY B. RYERSON. Toronto: Francis White. 1937. Pp. 136. (\$1.00)

Le Feu de la Rivière-du-Chêne: Etude historique sur le mouvement insurrectionnel de 1837 au nord de Montréal. Par l'Abbé EMILE DUBOIS. Préface de M. le sénateur JULES-EDOUARD PREVOST. St. Jérôme, P.Q.; The Author. 1937. Pp. 341. (\$1.50)

THESE two volumes, which are among the more significant of the few publications evoked by the centenary of 1837, form an interesting contrast in scope, approach, and method. Mr. Ryerson, who has attempted a general study of the rebellions in both provinces, presents a frankly Marxian interpretation of his subject. He has stated his purpose himself in his preface; and in the same preface, with engaging candour, he has admitted that in no sense can his book claim to be a work of original research. The task of research, he intimates, would have been "extremely tempting". It might have been tempting; it would certainly have been laborious; and its results would probably have been extremely disconcerting for Mr. Ryerson. As it turned out, however, Mr. Ryerson was able to avoid the temptation of research, for his time was fully occupied in other and more engrossing activities; and being, therefore, relatively uninhibited by documentary evidence, he was able to speak freely about his subject. It seems evident that for him the analysis of Canadian history from the standpoint of Marxism does not consist in the careful reworking of Canadian materials in the light of Marxist principles and with Marxist methods. It appears to mean merely the arbitrary assemblage of haphazardly selected evidence in support of a few given Marxist dogmas. The book, in short, is a kind of garbled translation in the Canadian vernacular of what Marx thought about the class struggle in Europe. There is little evidence in it that Mr. Ryerson has discovered anything of much value concerning the class struggle in the Canadas.

The results of such an approach and such a method are apparent throughout the book. They are painfully conspicuous in the analysis of economic and social forces—where presumably Mr. Ryerson believes his greatest contribution to lie. The Canadian Tories, in order that they may fit the role which Mr. Ryerson is determined to assign to them, are described as a reactionary landlord-merchant class, devoted to feudalism and opposed to industrial growth. The Canadian reformers, by an even more violent transformation, are made to assume the character of an industrial *bourgeoisie*, eager for the development of manufacturing, opposed to feudalism and mercantilism and convinced of the utility of free trade. As a matter of fact, the principal attempts to reform the seigniorial system were made, not by the French-Canadian *patriotes*, but by the merchants in Lower Canada and the imperial authorities in London. The first really protective Canadian tariff, imposed at the instance of Canadian farmers, was on agricultural produce; while the development of banking, the introduction of capital both British and American, and the first industrial enterprises were the work of the "landlord-merchant oligarchy" at Montreal and Toronto. Finally, the British mercantile system, so long as it included the imperial preferences on Canadian staple products, was never seriously attacked in Canada, either by Tories or reformers. And when at last, the corn laws were repealed, mercantilism found its most vociferous opponents among the merchants of Montreal.

The Abbé Dubois's volume is a very different kind of production. It is concerned, not with the rebellion as a whole, but with the local protest movement in the counties of Two Mountains and Terrebonne, which culminated in the affair of Saint-Eustache. The volume is written from a French-Canadian nationalist point

of view, modified slightly by clerical reservations. It is quite fully documented; but the sources—particularly the newspapers from which the Abbé Dubois has taken his accounts of local happenings—are monotonously French in language and *patriote* in sympathy. It is abundantly clear, however, from the Abbé Dubois's evidence, that the tories or "bureaucrats" in Two Mountains were just as provocative and violent as their opponents; and this helps to reinforce the growing conviction that the commotion in Lower Canada in 1837 was less a planned rebellion than it was an abortive civil war. But the Abbé Dubois is not quite content to leave it at that. He is inclined to ennoble the *patriotes*—he waxes alternately sentimental and melodramatic about them; and when he solemnly compares French Canada to an heroic fisherman enmeshed in the tentacles of a vast Britannic octopus, the image fails lamentably to produce the suitable emotions of pity and terror. Finally, it is a little difficult, on the Abbé Dubois's own evidence, to accept the following as an impartial judgment on the purposes and methods of the two parties engaged in controversy in Lower Canada: "Nous avons là, étalés clairement sous nos yeux, les procédés des deux partis: calomnies, violences, incitations à la révolte, guet-à-pens odieux: voilà pour le parti bureaucratique; fières protestations, indignations violentes, décision forte de gagner la lutte par les moyens constitutionnels: voilà pour le camp des patriotes."

D. G. CREIGHTON

The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854: Its History, its Relation to British Colonial and Foreign Policy and to the Development of Canadian Fiscal Autonomy. By DONALD C. MASTERS. London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1937. Pp. xxiv, 267. (\$3.50)

THE Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 is an old subject but here we are given a new study of it that is a real contribution to historical knowledge and understanding. The subject is dealt with on the basis of a wide study of the archival material now available in Canada, the United States, and England, as well as of printed sources and monographs. Attention is given to the history of the treaty not only in its bearings on trade but in relation to the course of British colonial and fiscal policy, Anglo-American relations, and relations between the United States and the provinces of British North America.

The author properly begins with 1846 and the effects of the repeal of the corn laws upon the fiscal situation in the provinces. The varied course of the long campaign for reciprocity is traced, with the shifting attitudes of the several provinces, until the emergence of a crisis in the fisheries controversy with the United States brought British decision to press for reciprocity in a settlement that would prevent trouble with the United States, trouble which Washington also was eager to avoid. The Aberdeen government, profiting by the hard-headed policy of the short-lived Derby administration, found itself in a strong position to secure a treaty despite the abortive character of earlier negotiations and the politically strife-riven atmosphere of the American capital.

Elgin had long pressed reciprocity on the British government. His dramatic part in securing its acceptance in Washington is here placed in rational perspective. He found the situation there already prepared, with the issues well known, and when he had fulfilled his mission of goodwill, there was still to supplement it the lobby for ratification in which I. D. Andrews played so important a role.

The treaty was a skilfully drafted compromise which, despite early opposition in the Maritime Provinces, worked to general satisfaction, thanks in part to a

variety of contemporary conditions, till the depression of 1857 was followed in Canada by the protective tariffs of Cayley and Galt. The relation of this protective policy to American manufactured goods is considered by the author as the most important reason for the dissatisfaction with the treaty that grew thereafter in the United States. He is careful, however, to point out other factors in the rapidly changing scene in both countries which helped to account for a growing sense of competition and increasing American dissatisfaction. The Civil War, especially, promoted not only anti-British feeling in the United States, but encouraged in various ways the growth of protectionist sentiment. The author accords to this sentiment a place of major importance among the motives that led to abrogation of the treaty, though he allots large supplementary importance to the animosity aroused by the dilatoriness of the Canadian government in taking adequate measures of border patrol after the St. Albans raid and by Coursol's release of the prisoners. Annexationism in the United States is perhaps hardly given the place that it deserves in relation to the policy of abrogation. While avowed annexationism played at that stage virtually no part as such in congressional proceedings and indeed was inconsistent with the dominant protectionist sentiment there, expressions of public opinion at that time were such as to suggest that a good deal of the popular animosity linked desires for annexation with advocacy of abrogation. But, after all, annexation talk was then chiefly significant as affording convenient arguments to supporters of federation in the provinces.

Commendably the author attempts to allocate responsibility for the failure of the efforts to prevent abrogation after notice of it had been given. There is perhaps not complete consistency between the primary importance attributed to economic motives for abrogation, and the importance given to the political shortcomings of the Canadian government concerning the border in 1864 and its neglect to push earlier than it did for renewal of the treaty. But if the author finds it impossible to be as conclusive as he would like on such matters, inconclusiveness is here the part of wisdom.

The operation of the treaty is discussed fully, and the trade of the period is analysed as to its character, directions, and quantity, with full recognition of the effects of other factors than the treaty. Similarly the situation in the fisheries is set forth explicitly. While the years of the treaty came in the midst of a longer period that saw on the whole an expansion of intercourse between states and provinces, Dr. Masters concludes that the treaty itself was a considerable factor both in the growth of trade while it was in force and also in the maintenance afterwards of the momentum then developed.

In an epilogue the aftermath of abrogation is sketched in sufficiently to make clear how it stimulated the provinces to seek interprovincial fiscal union by federation, and meanwhile to take co-operative action in the confederate council of trade. Federation made abrogation begin to appear "at least bearable". Canada had laid the foundations of a national policy of her own, not only independent of United States fiscal policies but also autonomous in relation to imperial policy.

The treaty and a group of statistical tables are printed as appendices. There is an eleven-page index. A bibliography would have been a useful addition.

REGINALD G. TROTTER

The Annexation of Russian America to the United States. By VICTOR J. FARRAR. Washington, D.C.: W. F. Roberts Company. 1937. Pp. viii, 142.

As Alaska forms the western boundary of Canada from 54° 40' to the "Frozen ocean", the story of its acquisition by the United States is almost a part of Canadian history. The late Dr. F. A. Golder was the pioneer in this field. In 1920 his work in the Russian Archives bore fruit in "The purchase of Alaska", which appeared in volume XXV of the *American historical review*. That article was practically the only source of information until this year when documents from the Soviet foreign office were made available to students. From that material Mr. Farrar, who has long been interested in Alaskan history, has produced the volume under review. It gives a complete and accurate sketch of the background of the purchase, the negotiation of the treaty on March 30, 1867, and the approval by the senate ten days later. When he passes from these matters of historical fact to discuss the abstract question of motives, he enters a dimly-lighted realm filled with doubt and uncertainty.

The first vague possibility of the purchase of Alaska arose out of the Crimean War; but nothing occurred inasmuch as the neutrality of the region was arranged by the influence of the two interested companies: the Russian American and the Hudson's Bay. However, through the fifties and sixties the subject recurred now and then, and was discussed academically. During the period of the Civil War, 1861-5, it remained dormant. In that conflict Russia had been uniformly favourable to the north. Out of this situation developed an amity-toward-Russia which made Seward's task easy when, believing that the United States would spread over the whole continent, he began actively to aid "Manifest Destiny" and suddenly and secretly negotiated the purchase of Alaska for \$7,200,000.

Mr. Farrar has done his work with his usual carefulness and exactitude. It is therefore free from any errors of moment. An eight-page bibliography points the way to all pertinent material.

F. W. HOWAY

Under Western Skies: Being a Series of Pen-Pictures of the Canadian West in Early Fur Trade Times. By ARTHUR S. MORTON. Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1937. Pp. [xii], 232. (\$2.00)

THESE "pen pictures of the Canadian West in early fur trade times" were originally written for the Saskatoon *Star-Phoenix* and now are published in book-form. Professor Morton's researches into western Canadian history and topography are well known and the volume embodies many of his discoveries and conclusions. In his preface he tells us that his aim in dealing with historical characters has been "to avoid repeating their well-known history; rather to draw attention to interesting features which are usually left out of the picture". He re-evaluates many of the leading fur traders and explorers. La Vérendrye, he once more insists, became "an explorer in spite of himself". Alexander Mackenzie's two voyages of discovery, he protests, were "but incidents" in his long career, and the "real Mackenzie was a fur-trader and organizer of the fur trade". Emphasis is placed upon the careers of the Frobishers, Peter Pond, Peter Fidler, and Duncan McGillivray. There is perhaps rather more than simple satire in Mr. Morton's remark at the conclusion of his discussion of Peter Pond and Alexander Mackenzie: "The moral is, if you wish to be famous, write a book about yourself, and be sure to leave everybody else out of the story."

From that half-opened treasure house, the Hudson's Bay Company's Archives

in London, the author has extracted much. He has rescued from oblivion Charles Bayley, the first governor of Rupert's Land; William Pink, a company's servant who kept a journal; James Isham, "a Chief Factor with Initiative"; William Tomison, "Chief Inland"; and William Stewart "the first European to cross the Barrens, 1715-16". In his brief accounts of these men he has shed new light upon the company's history.

The author is obviously writing a "popular" book and not a treatise, but in some places it must be confessed that he rather falls between two stools. Many of the chapters indicate the difficulty encountered in attempting to turn newspaper articles into a connected narrative. The treatment is topical rather than chronological and sometimes the chronology is a bit hard to follow. The research student would often welcome a footnote which indicates the source of a useful quotation or of the information upon which the author has based a rather unusual conclusion. Unfortunately, there is no index.

Especially valuable for high-school students are the chapters dealing with "The prairies and the buffalo", "The Indians of the plains", "The Indians and the fur trade", and "The fur traders and their world". Possibly the quotations in these chapters might have been worked a little more into the text, but students tend to remember original passages longer than authors' paraphrases. The debt of the white man to the Indian is well pointed out as is also the fur traders' ability in handling the native.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Morton's sketches of the fur trade will soon be followed by the publication of his long-awaited volumes on western Canada.

W. N. SAGE

World Currents and Canada's Course. Lectures given at the Canadian Institute on Economics and Politics, August 7th to 20th, 1937. Edited by VIOLET ANDERSON. Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1937. Pp. viii, 152. (Paper \$1.00; cloth \$1.50)

THE second volume of published addresses delivered at the annual Couchiching conference not only maintains the standard set by its predecessor but is more successful in presenting various points of view. In part one there are analyses of European and Asiatic conditions, outlines of British and American foreign policy, and an earnest appeal from a Christian pacifist, the Reverend Leyton Richards. Dr. Simons writes with the same clarity and insight he displayed in 1936 on the European scene. One would wish that the same might be said of Lord Eustace Percy's analysis of British policy which rather resembles an Oxford union debating speech. It is surely too "clever" to explain Communist machinations in China in 1926-7 and American irritation with British naval policy in 1927-8 as "popular explosions" against British leadership in Europe after Locarno, or to contend that the Hoare-Laval agreement was "politically unwise but morally right", and that the British foreign policy in 1937 had "succeeded in bringing Germany and Italy into regular international consultation". There is an admirable analysis of the tragic dilemma of Japan and a brief sketch of China which might surely have given the name of its Chinese author. The Canadian section is on a uniformly high level ranging from Professor Taylor's realistic analysis of Canada's economic resources through the frank statements by a westerner (Mr. George Ferguson) and a moderate French-Canadian nationalist (Mr. Léon Gouin) to the provocative and Cassandra-like comments of Mr. Underhill whose final Parthian shot is "if it is democracy we are interested in let us do our struggling at home".

The volume also includes Dr. Dafoe's notable analysis of Canadian foreign policy which he delivered in June at Kingston. (I miss his description of himself as an "impercipient".)

The editorial work is not up to the level of that in the first volume. There is no index; Oxford graduates are described as "Oxen"; rearmament and disarmament are misspelled; and there are such obvious errors as 1788 for 1758, nineteenth for eighteenth, and Spa for the Hague.

F. H. SOWARD

Le Canada et la doctrine de Monroe: Etude historique sur l'influence de l'impérialisme américain dans l'évolution de l'Empire britannique. Par PIERRE SÉBILLEAU.

Préface de PATRICK BURY. Paris: Recueil Sirey. 1937. Pp. viii, 219.

CITIZENS of the United States lose few opportunities of blaming, in cutting terms, the imperial manifestations which take place periodically in such or such of the great European countries. If one is to believe some of their historians or their political men, imperialism is English, French, or German, and, nowadays especially, Japanese or Italian; but such a venomous plant cannot feed its manifold roots in the soil of free America. Was it not to raise a barrier against European imperialism that President Monroe sent forth that celebrated message of December 2, 1823, in which may be found, in milder form, the political doctrine of John Quincy Adams? And has not the so-called Monroe doctrine, proclaimed at that date, completed later by other solemn declarations and even subjected to contradictory interpretations, according to circumstances, secured the independence of all the American peoples, threatened by the craving of certain European countries?

Doubtless this is true. Yet, on the other hand, it is no less true that, under cover of the Monroe doctrine, there has arisen and developed an American imperialism, which may have greatly fostered first the territorial expansion, and then, the political, economic, even social prominence of the United States; and which may, in turn, become a menace to the independence of other American countries. Although Washington has, for the last few years, substituted the good neighbour policy for that of the big stick, who can say that this American imperialism has become inoffensive?

In any case, and to keep to the past, there has existed an American imperialism, the various manifestations of which have not failed, by their reactions, to have a deep influence upon the evolution of the British Empire and that of Canada in particular. And it is the study of such influence which Mr. Pierre Sébilleau sets forth in his book *Le Canada et la doctrine de Monroe*. "The purpose of this thesis", he writes, "shall be to find out the manifestation of imperialistic designs of the United States upon Canada, to value their influence upon the constitutional evolution of the Dominion, bearing in mind, that, incidentally, such influence has been predominant upon the evolution of the British Empire." The author justly traces back the appearance of American imperialism—that is, of its official appearance, for there existed a latent imperialism long before that date—to the advent of the "Message" out of which arose the Monroe doctrine. He shows how, in the course of the last century, the attitude of the United States has been capable of directing Canada's evolution from a mere colony to a self-governing colony, and finally to an autonomous dominion in the commonwealth of British nations. From the problems of the Maine and Oregon frontiers to those created by the proposed canalization of the St. Lawrence, we are shown the different phases which mark the gradual evolution of Canada from the rank of colony to

the status of international power, a position which has been magisterially set forth by Mr. André Siegfried.¹ And it would appear that the chief purpose of Mr. Sébilleau's book is to turn the spotlight upon the prestige, the force of the empire. "If Canada has been able to resist the United States"—and the author shows clearly the forms of such resistance, rather passive than active—"it is not due to its own strength, but owing to the great force behind it, that of the Empire." According to Mr. Sébilleau—and there are many others of the same opinion—"Canada has known how to create a just poise between the annexation powers of the United States and the centralizing forces of England".

Taken as a whole, the thesis is just and well set forth. There are, however, several details wherein we differ from Mr. Sébilleau. In the first place, it would seem that the author has greatly neglected the point of view of the French Canadians; he quotes only two or three of their political men, and practically no French-Canadian newspaper or periodical. Also, when he lays stress upon the value of British "protection", he does not show its counterpart. He says nothing, or next to nothing, of the nationalistic feeling now so prevalent in Anglo-Canadian centres. And he is wrong when he states that the loyalist forces of 1812 (p. 16) consisted mostly of French Canadians; wrong also, when he places before Quebec (p. 17) the decisive victory of this same war, which caused the Americans to retreat. He really exaggerates a little when he compares the *Toronto Globe*—abundantly quoted by him—in 1862, to the *London Times*, and he is again mistaken in his rather too summary judgment of the North-west Rebellion, as also of what he improperly terms Mr. Bourassa's "separatist movement".

As to the style, it is not very carefully finished. For this reason, many pages are difficult to read and the theme does not possess that fine arrangement, that suppleness of expression, which charm the reader in Mr. Siegfried's work for instance. We may add that the print is defective and the punctuation deplorable.

Such as it is, and in view of the actual political problems of international interest, Mr. Sébilleau's work deserves a place among the useful books dedicated to the empire, to Canada, and to the intercourse between Anglo-Saxons.

JEAN BRUCHESI

Labor in Canadian-American Relations. Edited by H. A. INNIS. *The History of Labor Interaction* by NORMAN J. WARE; *Labor Costs and Labor Standards* by H. A. LOGAN. (The Relations of Canada and the United States, a series of studies prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History; J. T. SHOTWELL, director.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1937. Pp. xxxviii, 212. (\$3.75)

TURBULENT headlines in the press testify to the lack of historical perspective in the attitude of many responsible citizens to recent labour movements in Canada. Several tariff and other industrial inquiries have raised the question of comparative labour costs and shown the need for a synoptic presentation of the facts. On both counts, this new volume in the Canadian American relations series is very welcome. One-third of the book, by Professor N. J. Ware, deals with organized labour in the United States and Canada, covering especially the post-war period and bringing the story up to date. The larger section, by Professor H. A. Logan, is devoted to a survey of labour costs and living standards in the two countries, the latter subject in particular being the result of an indefatigable examination

¹André Siegfried, *Le Canada, puissance internationale* (Paris, 1937).

of all the available material. A lengthy introduction by the editor, on the early history of farmer and labour movements in their relation to the economic development of Canada, really constitutes a third section in itself.

Mr. Ware's material is a competent assemblage of all the main facts as to labour organizations, their types, policies, and vicissitudes. Its measured statements on such events as the Winnipeg strike, the Regina marchers, the "sit-down" technique, or the C.I.O. "drive" in Oshawa, deserve a much wider reading than such authoritative studies are likely to get. It is a pity, therefore, that in the arrangement of the section as a whole there has been so little effort to aid the reader. In chapter iv (on Canadian unions) even a series of sub-headings would have improved the presentation immensely; but could not a few summary tables or charts (with information as to organization, membership, affiliations, etc.) also have been worked out to assist in the understanding of what is admittedly a tangled skein? More emphasis on the proportion of labour which is *not* organized in both countries would also have been helpful. There is no integration between two tiny chapters which deal with labour and politics (chapter iii) and the C.C.F. (chapter iv),¹ and little or no interpretative discussion of this important aspect of the North American labour movement.

Mr. Logan's study, taken along with the volume on *Canadian-American Industry: A study in international investment* which appeared in the same series, brings a new precision to our knowledge of the economic determinants of Canadian industry. Mr. Logan's arrangement of material is logical and easy to follow. A review of the relevant information on Canadian and American manufacturing from census statistics is followed by detailed examination of four different but indicative industries—boots and shoes, sugar refining, agricultural machinery, and automobiles. Costs of living in the two countries are then compared generally and in certain representative cities, and an attempt is made to assess the qualifications attributable to social legislation. Real wages are consistently revealed to be lower in Canada than in the United States. Both in the specific chapters and in the summaries, account is taken of the influence of tariffs, workers' skill and managerial efficiency, scale of plant, and the size of the market, in evaluating the differential. The tariff results in the closing-off of a limited market—which has, not uncommonly, raised capital costs and profits rather than wages.

There are several examples in this section of rather clumsy sentences and titles which might have been avoided by a more flexible description of the statistical ratios. But this is the worst criticism which can be levelled at an excellent piece of work.

LEONARD C. MARSH

Correspondance de René de Kerallain 1889-1928. Publié par Madame RENÉ de KERALLAIN, née de BIGAULT D'AVOCOURT. Tome III. 10 février 1910-18 juin 1914. Quimper: Imprimerie Bargain. 1937. Pp. 432.

WE have already reviewed (XV, 314; XVI, 449) the two earlier volumes of the letters, astounding in their range and learning, of this great-grandson of Bougainville, who played a part so notable in France's last fight to hold Canada. The present volume covers the letters, to a great variety of persons, of four years, and ends with one to M. Daniel Halévy on June 18, 1914, the eve of the Great War. The letters relating to Canada are to Professor George M. Wrong, of the

¹On page 55 in this chapter the wrong title is given to a book (*Social Planning for Canada*), which was not issued by the C.C.F. as the text states.

University of Toronto. Kerallain served in the Franco-German War of 1870-1. It led to the republic which he hated, and in 1912 he was despondent about France's future. The letters, from 1912 to 1928, still to be published, will show his estimate of the republic's strength and success in war.

Owing perhaps to his study of his eminent ancestor's career, Kerallain read with avidity every important book on Canada. When this REVIEW was in its early years, he wrote to friends urging them to read it. He comes down heavily on M. Gabriel Hanotaux because he, in his preface to M. Hector Garneau's new edition of his grandfather's *History*, shows ignorance of William Wood's *Logs of the conquest of Canada* published by the Champlain Society. Kerallain's high standard of erudition caused him to be rather scornful of Lavis's *Histoire de France*, because of the neglect of the history of New France. When Canada's growing importance forced attention in France, Kerallain, in 1912, derided French professors, supposedly well-informed, who wrote as if Montcalm's victory at Carillon (Ticonderoga) and the battle of the Plains of Abraham were incidents of which the world was only now becoming aware (p. 297).

The letters to Professor Wrong, continuing many in earlier volumes, show an alert Frenchman's misgivings on some world problems. He asks whether it is certain that British rule in India, and American ("Yankee") rule in the Philippines, have been of real service to the people of those countries. He thinks that the British alliance with Japan is a mistake, and that at some time the yellow races in Asia will turn on the intruding white races. Colonies will prove essential for the greater European nations, still lacking them. He is certain that democracy will fail in Europe, and derides a system under which those without money or property make laws concerning money and the succession to property. Such a system cannot, he says, last in Europe, and assuredly now, twenty-five years later, we can see that there was something in his foresight for nations that lacked the long discipline which democracy requires. The French, he thinks, love equality rather than liberty, and equality is a goal that can never be reached. He finds in his Brittany a trait noticeable also in the Canadian habitant. If he prospers he does not greatly change his mode of life. Kerallain says that his own farmers, some of them worth possibly fifteen or twenty thousand dollars, would go about so dirty and ragged as to be taken for beggars. Canadians, he remarks to his Canadian correspondent ("soit dit sans vous choquer"), seem to have a provincial spirit owing to their lack of long traditions. To him Canada is like a small town while the United States is like an enormous capital (p. 19).

The volume is an *édition de luxe* beautifully printed and edited with care and insight by Madame de Kerallain who shows erudition like that of her late husband. Only a hundred and fifty copies have been printed of which none is for sale.

Medals Awarded to North American Indian Chiefs 1714-1922 and to Loyal African and Other Chiefs in Various Territories Within the British Empire. By MELVILL ALLAN JAMIESON. London: Spink and Son. 1936. Pp. 122.

THIS is one of those excellent monographs which are produced in such numbers in Great Britain and other older countries where there are so many people interested in the by-paths of history. In such countries the "collector" abounds, and every hobby, scientific, antiquarian, bibliographic, is pursued with more scholarly thoroughness than is generally the case on our high-speed continent.

About one-half of the book under review deals with medals presented to North American Indians, and this section is of special value to the student of Canadian

history. The explanatory historical notes which accompany the very complete technical descriptions contain some interesting minor facts. For example, in negotiating treaties nos. 1 and 2, by which Canada acquired the Indian title to lands in Manitoba and adjacent territory in 1871, it was stipulated that "each Chief should receive a suit of clothes, a flag, and a medal as a mark of distinction". As it was desired to present these medals as soon as possible, to save the time necessary for the production of an original and special design, a small medal (only two inches in diameter), was struck from dies already engraved by the Wyons, the famous medallists responsible for most of the Indian medals since 1814. On account of their small size these medals were regarded by the chiefs with disfavour, and to please the dissatisfied recipients they were given the opportunity of exchanging them for a more impressive medal. This was a replica of the medal struck to commemorate Confederation in 1867, enlarged by a band bearing a special inscription and the date 1872. At first this new medal was received with delight; but the chiefs soon discovered that, "all that glitters is not gold". This pretentious and cumbersome disc, three and three quarter inches in diameter, was made up of an electrotype plated with silver, which quickly wore off, to the disgust of the chiefs who expressed their contempt so strongly that for later treaties a specially designed and very heavy medal of three inches diameter was struck in solid silver.

One or two minor typographical errors may be noted: "Roundmaker" (p. 53), should be Poundmaker, and "1912" (p. 65), should be 1922. But these are very small blemishes on a publication otherwise perfect in the completeness of its descriptions, and the excellence of its engraving and printing which bring out the most minute details of the illustrations with the greatest clarity.

CHARLES W. JEFFERYS

The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504-1700: A Study in Canadian Civilization. By ALFRED GOLDSWORTHY BAILEY. (Monographic Series, no. 2, Publications of the New Brunswick Museum.) Saint John, N.B.: The Museum. 1937. Pp. [viii], 206.

THIS book describes changes that took place in the cultures of the Eastern Algonkian Indians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a result of their contact with French traders and missionaries. It is a history, not a statement of hypothesis as to general characteristics of culture contact. Two principal virtues contribute to its success: the sources, so far as this reviewer can judge simply from reading the book, are thoroughly used and well, and the materials are presented so as to bring out the interrelations of factors which led to native depopulation and to the disintegration of native societies.

As in other cases of European-native contact, initial technical and economic changes brought in their wake changes in the social and moral order. The central fact in the instance provided by the Eastern Algonkians was the fur trade. The introduction of firearms and metal tools gave the Indians time to get furs, demand for which was, of course, greatly enlarged. This caused the natives to increase their range, and a result of this was a multiplication of intertribal wars and other intertribal contacts. These wars, together with the decline of game, changes of diet, the introduction of liquor and new diseases, and perhaps also psychological factors, resulted in decline in native population. Meanwhile the native societies became disorganized. With the increased mobility, and with the new alliances made for reasons of commercial or military expediency, new territorial ties gained at the expense of old bonds of kinship, and as a further result individualistic

behaviour increased. An old commodity, used for ceremonial payment (wampum), became a true medium of exchange. The growing trading activity, the disposition of the French to treat the native chiefs as commercial agents, and the emphasis of commercial motives in warfare, favoured the decline of sacred and traditional sanctions. Missionary activity, dividing the people into converts and non-converts, contributed to the decline of solidarity. The commercial dependence of the Indians upon the French left them exposed: when furs and game had been destroyed and when beaver hats went out of style in Europe, collapse of the native societies followed.

Apparently the Indians were quick to master the strategy called for by the new conditions brought about by French invasion. They understood that the balance of power would be held by that group which controlled the territory between the French who bought the furs and the interior tribes who produced them. For this position of middlemen they fought with one another, although in the end its occupants were to be ruined. Thus, very early after the white man came, these primitive peoples developed something comparable to the international policies of European peoples, and for similar reasons.

If criticism is to be directed toward the book as an historian's contribution to an ultimate comparative study of culture contacts, it may be directed at those passages, few in number (pp. 18, 102, 115), where the author apparently offers an inference as to what probably occurred in Acadia on the strength of the fact that another student (Pitt-Rivers?) said it occurred somewhere else. If, for example, we are to define the sufficient and the necessary causes under which the birth-rate declines, we are not helped by being told that among the disorganized Indians of eastern Canada "less children were being born due to the depression of the women" (p. 115), when the historian gives us no proof that fewer children were being born, or that a decline in birth-rate, if a fact, was due to the mental condition of the women. Nor does it add anything for the historian to say (p. 102), apparently only because the circumstance has been reported elsewhere, that "orgiastic outbreaks with a reversion to the primitive state may have occurred".

The book deals incidentally with a number of special problems of interest to those concerned with the separation of aboriginal elements from those of European introduction in the Indian cultures. Doubt is raised as to whether the making of maple sugar was practised by the Indians before the white man came (pp. 58-9). The question as to the origins of curvilinear decorative design in Indian art is reviewed, but not settled; some support is given to Mr. Barbeau's view that this form of design is a European introduction. The question of European influence upon native music receives fresh consideration, and Charles G. Leland's thesis that Micmac and Wabanaki mythology was chiefly derived from the Norsemen is analysed and shown to be unproven.

ROBERT REDFIELD

The Amerindians: From Acuera to Sitting Bull, From Donnacona to Big Bear. By DONALD M. McNICOL. New York, Toronto: Frederick A. Stokes Company. 1937. Pp. xx, 341. (\$2.75)

In his introduction the author outlines his purpose as follows: "to make available a single volume of readable length dealing with the experiences of the Amerindians from the time of the arrival of the first Europeans, until the Indians who remained, or had survived, were herded into restricted reservations, where they could be policed and restrained."

So vast a subject would seem to require a lifetime of research, much more than

the author has apparently given to it. The book scarcely mentions the immense economic, social, and religious changes that overtook the Indians through direct or indirect contact with Europeans, but develops into a one-sided and rather dreary chronicle of their wars with the colonists, a chronicle that is in no way lightened by the numerous lists of chiefs and warriors who took part in the conflicts. There are no maps to guide the reader (tribal maps are indispensable, but exceedingly difficult to frame); no authorities are quoted for many doubtful statements; and the extremely brief bibliography at the end of the book will inspire no confidence in the professional ethnographer or historian. The sections relating to Canada are replete with errors and half-truths. The two chapters devoted to the Riel rebellion neither tell the full story nor place it in its proper setting. We are told that Donnacona was chief of the Algonkians at Stadacona (p. 28); that in the Iroquois confederacy each tribe had eight sachems and eight chiefs, the sachems having civil authority, the chiefs, direction in war and battle (p. 35); that a tribe of the Ojibways, known as the Atnas, in 1790, flourished in the territory south of the hunting grounds of the Athapascans in north-western Canada (p. 258); and that "In Canada what are termed 'wild' Indians are wards of the Federal Government. Enfranchised Indians are regarded as 'naturalized' citizens. . . . Government support of Indians has decreased considerably in cost in recent years. . . . Some of the Indian reserves are: Alert Bay, Battleford, Morley, Rimouski, File Hills, Riviere du Loup, Crooked Lake, Norway House, Cowichan, Qu'Appelle, and one near Hamilton, Ontario" (pp. 333-4). Statements such as these betray a regrettable ignorance of the past history and present condition of the Canadian Indians.

D. JENNESS

Tobacco, Pipes and Smoking Customs of the American Indians. Parts I and II. By GEORGE A. WEST. (Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, vol. XVII.) Milwaukee: The North American Press. 1934. Pp. 994; 257 plates; 17 figures; 19 maps.

OF the diverse elements of culture adopted by the white man from the Indian, the most lasting influences have probably been shown in the use of potato, corn, and tobacco. Of these, tobacco has had a popular as well as an economic appeal, so that a comprehensive publication on this subject is of wide interest. The two volumes under review are monuments to the author's life-long hobby, the thorough study of all that pertains to the smoking practices of the aborigines. Furthermore, they are a tribute to the scientific work of a civic institution—the Public Museum of the city of Milwaukee.

At the time of European contact, tobacco was grown and smoked throughout the whole of the United States, and in Canada was used as far north as, approximately, the 50th parallel. Rapidly taken over by Europeans, it was carried to all parts of the world, including the northern areas of America. The author deals briefly with the varieties of tobacco (and other herbs) smoked, the Indian attitude towards the practice, and (briefly) its post-Columbian history. But his major interest lies in the stone and clay pipes found in pre-Columbian sites. He has worked out, and mapped, the distribution of about twenty forms, all of which, with varieties and typical examples, are beautifully illustrated in the second volume which consists solely of plates. In this ample range of excellent illustrations lies the real value of this work, a representative collection of well-chosen specimens from most of the important museums of America. Actually, in spite of its size, the report is of a pioneer nature rather than definitive—as the author himself admits; cultural developments, modifications due to contact, the problems of diffusion and

of integration are beyond his interests. Thus, though the full history of Indian smoking remains to be written, the author has brought together a tremendous mass of material on a fundamental aspect of the subject, the actual pipes.

T. F. McILWRAITH

Naskapi: The Savage Hunters of the Labrador Peninsula. By FRANK G. SPECK. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1935. Pp. 248; 19 plates, 26 figures. (\$3.50)

FROM the days of Cartier and Champlain the Indian has figured prominently in literature pertaining to what is now Canada. Explorers, travellers, missionaries, journalists, sentimentalists, historians, officials, anthropologists, all have described the manners and customs of tribes in different parts of the country, each author writing of the native from his own standpoint, and often with his own bias. Speaking broadly, one point of view has been conspicuously lacking amid this wide range of approaches—that of the Indian himself. Writing was an unknown art to the aborigines, and those who have mastered it from the white man have almost always been individuals who have abandoned their own culture to such an extent that it is as unknown to them as to whites of European ancestry. Anthropologists, describing the life of the Indian objectively, should have been able to record customs and beliefs from the native standpoint, but unfortunately their contributions (all too few in number) have tended to become submerged in scientific journals, and their frequent emphasis upon special phases of investigation or upon studies in restricted areas has tended to repel all but the specialist.

Naskapi gives an intimate picture of the fundamentals of life among the Montagnais-Naskapi, the Algonkian-speaking hunters of the Labrador peninsula, ranging from Hudson bay almost to the Atlantic, and from Ungava bay to the St. Lawrence. Dr. Speck, who is professor of anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania, has been working among the Montagnais-Naskapi for twenty-five years, and this volume is the outcome of many field investigations, supplemented by utilization of earlier sources. Since native culture in Labrador is rapidly disappearing, this work can be accurately defined as definitive. Weak in material culture, in social structure and in ceremonies, the Montagnais-Naskapi have a rich and complex religious philosophy which dominates them; hence its comprehensive treatment as in this book is an exposition of all that is vital in life. As the author says, the two requirements of existence are to work and to operate *māntu*, a native term signifying unseen force, the two being equally important and inseparable. For since every animal has a soul, and every important species has its super-animal master, it follows that hunting is a religious act of which the preliminary aspects of dreaming and divination are more important than the mere setting of a snare or the firing of a gun. Theology may be weak, but the intensely vivid and all-pervading effects of belief stand out with convincing clarity from every page of the book. The student of social philosophy will find few more convincing documents than this account of the way in which a few hundred "simple" hunters have built up for themselves an intricate system of religious convictions to which they adhere unquestioningly. Anthropologists will welcome the wealth of detail concerning native culture in north-eastern Canada, but the reviewer feels that the book has a wider significance in terms of the dominance of belief as the regulator of behaviour. Finally, praise must be given for the skilful manner in which the author has interwoven anecdote and folk-tale with his descriptions to give excellent literary form to his volume.

T. F. McILWRAITH

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—Bulletin des recherches historiques; C.H.R.—CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW; C.J.E.P.S.—Canadian journal of economics and political science.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

- ALPORT, C. J. M. *Kingdoms in partnership: A study of political change in the British Commonwealth*. London: Lovat Dickson. [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada.] 1937. Pp. xii, 290. (\$2.75) To be reviewed later.
- BANERJI, A. *The imperial conference and the League of Nations* (New commonwealth, Aug., 1937, 178-9).
- CAHAN, C. H. *Canadian and/or commonwealth loyalty?* (United empire, XXIX (1), Jan., 1938, 25-9). The author contends that Canada must be faithful to the constitutional covenants upon which the British Commonwealth is established.
- GLASS, DUDLEY. *The book about the British Empire*. New York: Warne. 1937. Pp. 128. (\$2.00) Two hundred and sixteen photographs of scenes from all parts of the British Empire illustrate the text.
- GOBLET, Y.-M. *La conférence impériale du couronnement* (Revue politique et parlementaire, 10 août, 1937, 227-41).
- GRIGG, Sir EDWARD. *The faith of an Englishman*. New York: Macmillan Co. [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada.] 1936. Pp. 405. A conservative interpretation of British imperial and international policy since the war.
- HAYDON, J. A. P. *Shall Canada abolish appeals to the privy council?* (Canadian congress journal, XVI (9), Sept., 1937, 45-6).
- HEATON, HERBERT. *British dominions in conclave* (Events, II (8), Aug., 1937, 103-9). Comments on the imperial conference of 1937.
British Empire trade problems (Events, I (6), June, 1937, 426-32).
 A survey of empire trade relations since the Ottawa conference of 1932.
- KEITH, A. BERRIEDALE. *The king, the constitution, the empire and foreign affairs: Letters and essays, 1936-7*. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 194. (\$2.75) To be reviewed later.
- KERR, P. H. and A. C. *The growth of the British Commonwealth*. Rev. ed. London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green. 1937. Pp. viii, 214.
- KEY, C. E. *A history of the British Empire*. London: Harrap. 1936. Pp. 363.
- KING, W. L. MACKENZIE. *Crown and commonwealth: An address on the coronation, the imperial conference, and visit to the continent of Europe*. Delivered over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Ottawa, July 19, 1937. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1937. Pp. 16.
- KING-HALL, STEPHEN. *The empire yesterday and to-day*. London, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. viii, 107. (2s. 6d.) To be reviewed later.
- MARTIN, KINGSLEY. *Is the British Empire in retreat?* (Yale review, XXVII (1), autumn, 1937, 12-29).

MOMMSEN, WOLFGANG. *Die letzte Phase des britischen Imperialismus auf den amerikanischen Kontinenten, 1880-1896*. Leipzig: Universitätsverlag Noske. 1933. Pp. xiii, 140. (5 M.)

SEDGWICK, G. G. *A note on Anglo-Canadian relations* (United empire, XXIX (2), Feb., 1938, 60-2).

SOWARD, F. H. *The imperial conference of 1937* (Pacific affairs, X (4), Dec., 1937, 441-9).

WHEELER, HAROLD F. B. *Makers of the British Empire*. London: Harrap. 1937. Pp. 256.

II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

ANDERSON, VIOLET (ed.). *World currents and Canada's course*. Lectures given at the Canadian Institute on Economics and Politics, August 7th to 20th, 1937. Toronto: Nelson. 1937. Pp. viii, 152. (Paper \$1.00; cloth \$1.50) See p. 77.

ANGUS, HENRY F. *The problem of peaceful change in the Pacific area: A study of the work of the Institute of Pacific Relations and its bearing on the problem of peaceful change*. (Issued under the auspices of the secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, for the tenth international studies conference, Paris, June, 1937.) London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. viii, 193. (\$1.75) To be reviewed later.

BURTON, F. W. *Staple production and Canada's external relations (Essays in political economy ed. by H. A. INNIS, Toronto, 1938, 45-58)*. Discusses certain respects in which economic conditions in Canada are dominated by relations with other countries, and in which Canadian economic policies may come into conflict with policies elsewhere.

CARR, E. H. *International relations since the peace treaties*. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1937. Pp. viii, 285. (\$1.20) To be reviewed later.

CRUTTWELL, C. R. M. F. *A history of peaceful change in the modern world*. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. [vi], 221. (7s. 6d.) To be reviewed later.

HOLLAND, W. L. and MITCHELL, KATE L. (eds.). *Problems of the Pacific, 1936: Aims and results of social and economic policies in Pacific countries*. (Proceedings of the sixth conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Yosemite national park, California, 15-29 August, 1936.) Assisted by HARRIET MOORE and RICHARD PYKE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. N.d. Pp. x, 470. (\$5.00) To be reviewed later.

Kelsey Club, Winnipeg. *Canadian defence: What we have to defend: Various defence policies*. A series of ten broadcast discussions, together with summaries of discussions. Winnipeg: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. 1937. Pp. 98.

KING, W. L. MACKENZIE. *Principles underlying peace*. Address at the luncheon given by the University of Toronto at the York Club, Toronto, in honour of the Hon. Cordell Hull, secretary of state of the United States, October 22, 1937. Pp. 7.

KINGSTON-McCLOUGHRY, E. J. *Winged warfare: Air problems of peace and war*. With foreword by the Rt. Hon. Lord LLOYD. London, Toronto: Jonathan Cape. 1937. Pp. 286 (\$3.00)

McKAY, ALASTAIR. *Canada and the German colonies* (Canadian forum, Dec., 1937, 301-2). Gives arguments, from the Canadian point of view, against the surrender to Germany of the colonies taken from her by the Treaty of Versailles.

- MANNING, C. A. W. (ed.). *Peaceful change: An international problem*. London: Macmillan Co. [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada.] 1937. Pp. viii, 193. (\$1.65) Contains articles by: C. K. WEBSTER, ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE, L. C. ROBBINS, T. E. GREGORY, LUCY P. MAIR, KARL MANNHEIM, H. LAUTERPACHT, and C. A. W. MANNING.
- NOTTER, HARLEY. *The origins of the foreign policy of Woodrow Wilson*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1937. Pp. viii, 695. (\$4.50) To be reviewed later.
- PERKINS, DEXTER. *The Monroe doctrine 1867-1907*. (Albert Shaw lectures on diplomatic history, 1937, under the auspices of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1937. Pp. x, 480. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.
- Report on the work of the League 1936-37*. Parts I and II. Official nos. A.6 and A.6(a). 1937. (Series of League of Nations publications, General 1937.3 and 4.) Geneva: League of Nations. 1937. Pp. 240, 75. *Annex to the report on the work of the League 1936-37*, Part II. Note by the secretary-general on the economic situation. Official no. A.6(a). 1937. Annex II. (Series of League of Nations publications, General 1937.6.) Geneva: League of Nations. 1937. Pp. 15.
- SIMONDS, FRANK H. and EMENY, BROOKS. *The great powers in world politics: International relations and economic nationalism*. New York: American Book Co. 1937. Pp. xiv, 683, cxxxvi. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.
- STRANGE, WILLIAM. *Canada, the Pacific and war*. (International affairs, book I.) Toronto: Nelson. 1937. Pp. xii, 220. (\$1.75) To be reviewed later.
- SWANWICK, H. M. *Collective insecurity*. London: Jonathan Cape. 1937. Pp. 285. (\$2.75) To be reviewed later.

III. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

- BRUCE, HERBERT A. *Friendship: The key to peace, and other addresses*. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1937. Pp. xii, 364. (\$2.50) This volume of addresses delivered by the author during his term of office as lieutenant-governor of Ontario includes among its wide variety of topics, "The Gunshot Treaty", "Laura Secord", "The journey of Champlain", and other essays bearing on the political and economic history of Canada and the empire.
- KNOX, DUDLEY W. *A history of the United States navy*. With introd. by WILLIAM L. RODGERS. New York: Putnam. 1936. Pp. xx, 481. (\$5.00) To be reviewed later.
- LAUGHLIN, J. E. *Canadian social history pictures: I. Loyalist pioneers; II. Early social and commercial life*. (Ten pictures in each set.) Toronto: Clarke, Irwin. N.d. (\$1.25 the set) See p. 118.
- NICOLSON, HAROLD. *Helen's tower. (In search of the past.)* London: Constable and Co. [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada.] 1937. Pp. xii, 292. (\$5.00) See p. 60.
- SANDERS, JENNINGS B. *Early American history (1492-1789): Political, social, economic*. New York: Prentice-Hall. 1938. Pp. xxii, 705. (\$5.00) To be reviewed later.
- SPAULDING, OLIVER LYMAN. *The United States army in war and peace*. With maps. New York: Putnam. 1937. Pp. xiv, 541. (\$6.00) To be reviewed later.
- WALLACE, W. STEWART (ed.). *The encyclopedia of Canada*. Vol. VI.: *Sillery-Zurich*. Toronto: University Associates of Canada. [Murray Printing Co.] 1937. Pp. [vi], 399. To be reviewed later.

WARSHAW, LEO. *The economic forces leading to a centralized federalism in Canada* (Essays in political economy ed. by H. A. INNIS, Toronto, 1938, 219-36). Shows how such economic factors as the fur trade, land monopolies, and the construction of the railway contributed to the establishment of a centralized federal system in Canada.

WETHERELL, J. E. *Three centuries of Canadian story*. Ill. by C. W. JEFFERYS and others. Toronto: Musson. 1937. Pp. xvi, 399. (\$1.25)

(2) New France

BOURINOT, ARTHUR S. *Rhymes of the French regime*. Toronto: Nelson. 1937. Pp. [x], 44. (\$1.00) The poet chooses the historical romance of the French régime in Canada as the theme for the twenty-two poems which comprise this volume.

CHAMPLAIN, JACQUES. *Brief récit et succincte narration de la navigation faicte es ysls de Canada, Hochelaga et Saguenay et autres, avec particulières meurs langage et cérémonies des habitants d'icelles: fort delectable à veoir*. (Bibliothèque de la Société historique du Canada.) Paris: Maisonneuve. 1937. (150 frs.)

FALARDEAU, EMILE. *Les pionniers de Longueuil et leurs origines, 1666-1681*. Preface by AEGIDIUS FAUTEUX. Montreal: G. Ducharme, 995 rue St-Laurent. 1937. Pp. 187. (\$1.50) To be reviewed later.

La famille Lefebvre Duplessis Faber: Appendice (B.R.H., XLIII (9), sept., 1937, 257-66). Contains the following documents: Mémoire pour la défense du Canada par le sieur Duplessis Faber (15 février 1690); Interrogatoire de François-Hypolite Lefebvre Duplessis Faber dans le procès contre MM. de Vergor et de Villeray (Québec, 27 septembre 1757).

GARRAGHAN, GILBERT J. *Marquette's titles to fame* (Mid-America, XX (1), Jan., 1938, 30-6).

GROULX, LIONEL. *Portrait de Talon* (Action universitaire, IV (3), nov., 1937, 45-6). A brief character sketch.

LONGFRÉ, E. *Le rappel du Marquis de Denonville* (B.R.H., XLIII (10), oct., 1937, 315-6). A letter from Louis XIV dated 1689 recalling the Marquis Denonville from Canada is reproduced.

MARCHAND, CLEMENT. *L'onzième journée: Episode du voyage du Père Buteux dans le haut Saint-Maurice en 1651* (Images de la Mauricie, numéro spécial du *Bien public*, Les Trois-Rivières, 1937, 68-9). The author enlarges on an episode related in the diary of Père Buteux.

MOOD, FULMER (ed.). *An unfamiliar essay by Frederick J. Turner* (Minnesota history, XVIII (4), Dec., 1937, 381-98). The essay "The rise and fall of New France", which was published originally in the *Chautauquan*, monthly magazine, Meadville, Penn., Oct., Dec., 1896, is here reprinted. It offers an outline of the main movements in the history of the French element in America.

NUTE, GRACE LEE. *Quelques compagnons trifluviens de Radisson et de Desgroseillers* (Images de la Mauricie, numéro spécial du *Bien public*, Les Trois-Rivières, 1937, 25-8). In this translation (unfortunately not entirely reliable) of the original article, the author produces much evidence to show that certain citizens of Three Rivers played an important part in the expeditions of Des Grosseillers and Radisson to the upper great lakes and Hudson bay in 1654 and 1682.

PEASE, THEODORE C. *The French regime in Illinois* (Illinois State Historical Society proceedings, 1936, 69-79). A challenge to historical scholars to rewrite the history of the French régime in Illinois from manuscript sources to be found in the archives of the United States, Canada, London, and Paris.

SOUCISSE, VICTOR-G. *Les Trois-Rivières: Foyer des plus grands explorateurs et des plus grands découvreurs du continent américain* (Images de la Mauricie, numéro spécial du *Bien public*, Les Trois-Rivières, 1937, 45-6). Brief sketches of some of the great explorers of Three Rivers.

WEBSTER, JOHN CLARENCE (ed.). *Diary of John Thomas; Journal of Louis de Courville*. (Journals of Beauséjour.) Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia. 1937. Pp. 54. To be reviewed later.

(3) British North America before 1867

ALEXANDER, EDWARD P. *The Hunter's Lodges of 1838* (New York history, XIX (1), Jan., 1938, 64-9). Two letters are here reproduced which throw some light on the activities of Patriot secret societies organized in the United States to overthrow the government of Canada.

Baldwin's diary (Fort Ticonderoga Museum bulletin, IV (6), Jan., 1938, 10-40). Extracts from the diary of Colonel Jeduthan Baldwin, chief engineer of the Northern army, which throw some light on manœuvres around Ticonderoga, July 6, 1776, to July 5, 1777.

BARRY, J. NEILSON. *The Champoege meeting of March 4, 1844* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXVIII (4), Dec., 1937, 425-32). An invitation was extended to Canadians to attend this meeting called by American settlers in Willamette valley, Ore., to petition congress to extend its jurisdiction over that district, and the Canadians, being in the majority, voted down the petition.

BRAULT, LUCIEN. *Bureaux d'enregistrement et registrateurs dans le Bas-Canada* (B.R.H., XLIII (9), sept., 1937, 272-7). A discussion of debates in the assembly between 1819 and 1830 in connection with the establishment of registration offices, with a list of registration officers in the counties of Lower Canada between 1830 and 1867.

BROSSARD, ROGER. *Le rapport Durham* (Action universitaire, IV (1), sept., 1937, 4-6). The author discusses the *Durham Report* from the French-Canadian point of view.

BROUILLETTE, BENOIT. *L'influence des Canadiens français dans la pénétration du continent Américain* (Action universitaire, IV (2), oct., 1937, 28-9, 34). An account of French Canadians between 1763 and 1846 who explored the territory between the great lakes and the Pacific and as far south as St. Louis.

CASGRAIN, JEAN. *Conséquences générales du mouvement de 1837* (Action universitaire, IV (2), oct., 1937, 25-7). The author considers political, economic, and social results of the Rebellion of 1837.

CLARK, R. C. *The chief factors of the Columbia department, 1821-1846* (Pacific northwest quarterly, XXVIII (4), Oct., 1937, 405-9). A chronological list of the seventeen men who held the position of chief factor in the Columbia department during this period reveals that, with a few exceptions, they were former North West Company men.

COLGATE, WILLIAM. *Rebels of yesterday* (Canadian, LXXXVIII (5), Nov., 1937, 8-9, 30, 54). A comment on the contributions of William Lyon Mackenzie and Louis Joseph Papineau to the development of democracy and civil liberty in Canada.

CORCORAN, CHARLES. *Blackrobe*. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1937. Pp. 377. (\$2.00) Père Marquette is the real hero of this vivid novel which contains graphic descriptions of the adventures of Marquette, Joliet, and their companions in exploring the Mississippi and Christianizing the Indians.

- CREIGHTON, D. G. *The commercial empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1850*. (Relations of Canada and the United States, a series of studies prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, division of economics and history; J. T. Shotwell, director.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. x, 441. (\$5.00) To be reviewed later.
- DESROSIERS, LÉO-PAUL. *L'accalmie: Lord Durham au Canada*. Montréal: Imprimerie du Devoir, 430 est Notre-Dame. 1937. Pp. 149. (\$1.00) To be reviewed later.
- The first years of the revolution: Letters to Pliny Moore, 1774-1776* (Moorsfield antiquarian, I (3), Nov., 1937, 163-78). Fourteen letters which have a particular bearing on the revolution.
- FISHER, JOSEPHINE. *Loyalists in Strafford* (Vermont Historical Society proceedings. V (4), Dec., 1937, 334-44). Gives some indication of local attitudes in frontier towns during, and immediately following, the revolution.
- GARLAND, M. A. (ed.). *The Proudfoot papers* (Ontario Historical Society papers and records, XXXI, Toronto, 1936, 91-113). This extract, covering the period from July 10, 1837, to Aug. 10, 1839, reveals something of the tension and bitterness that existed in Upper Canada, and particularly in London.
- HUBBARD, L. RON. *Buckskin brigades*. New York: Macaulay Co. [Toronto: George J. McLeod.] 1937. Pp. 316. (\$2.00) The warfare between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Nor'westers for control of the fur-trading territory of the north-west forms a background for this novel.
- John Jacob Astor correspondence: Fur trade with Lower Canada, 1790-1817*. Part III (Moorsfield antiquarian, I (3), Nov., 1937, 191-205).
- MINNIGERODE, MEADE. *Black forest*. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. [Toronto: Oxford University Press.] 1937. Pp. 360. (\$2.50) The history of the exploration and settlement of the North-west Territory forms a setting for this historical romance which touches on Dinwiddie's war with the French, Braddock's expedition, the Pontiac uprising, George Rogers Clark's march on Vincennes, and the revolution, and culminates in the story of the ordinance of 1787.
- MOODY, ROBERT EARLE and CRITTENDEN, CHARLES CHRISTOPHER (eds.). *The letter-book of Mills and Hicks (Nathaniel Mills and John Hicks), August 13th, 1781, to August 22nd, 1784, at Charles Town (South Carolina), Saint Augustine (East Florida), New York (New York), and Granville (Nova Scotia)* (North Carolina historical review, XIV (1), Jan., 1937, 39-82). Gives interesting information concerning affairs of loyalist merchants in general at the close of the American Revolution.
- NEATBY, HILDA M. *The administration of justice under the Quebec Act*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1937. Pp. viii, 383. (\$6.00) To be reviewed later.
- NUTE, GRACE LEE. *Grand Portage* (Indians at work, IV (17), April 15, 1937, 26-32). An historical account of the rise and fall of Grand Portage as an important trading depot.
- POTVIN, PASCAL. *L'aumonier des patriotes de 1837* (Canada français, XXV (4), déc., 1937, 417-32). The author traces the development of the patriotic ideas of M. Étienne Chartier, curé of Saint-Benoît (1798-1853).
- R., P. G. *La dernière exécution publique au Canada* (B.R.H., XLIII (10), oct., 1937, 289-98). The last public execution in Quebec took place in 1864 and in the whole of Canada, at Ottawa in 1869.
- RUSSELL, NELSON VANCE. *Transportation and naval defense in the old northwest during the British régime, 1760-96* (University of Michigan historical essays, 1937, 113-39). An attempt to show that this period demonstrated the need of a naval establishment to maintain British control in the old north-west.

- SCANLAN, PETER LAWRENCE. *Prairie du Chien: French, British, American*. Prairie du Chien, Wisc.: The author. 1937. Pp. xiv, 258. (\$2.50) To be reviewed later.
- SIMPSON to TOLMIE (British Columbia historical quarterly, I (4), Oct., 1937, 241-2). A letter from Sir George Simpson to William Fraser Tolmie which throws interesting light on the circumstances of Tolmie's promotion to the rank of chief factor in the Hudson's Bay Company, in June, 1856.
- Le sous-lieutenant Hugh Murray (B.R.H., XLIII (9), sept., 1937, 282-3). Hugh Murray was born in Montreal in 1836 and was killed in Spain in 1874 fighting for the Carlist cause.
- STANLEY, GEORGE F. G. *The defence of the Maritime Provinces during the wars of the French Revolution* (Canadian defence quarterly, XIV (4), July, 1937, 437-47).
- STOCK, LEO FRANCIS (ed.). *Proceedings and debates of the British parliaments respecting North America*. Vol. IV: 1728-1739. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1937. Pp. xxviii, 888. To be reviewed later.
- TOLMIE, S. F. *My father: William Fraser Tolmie, 1812-1886* (British Columbia historical quarterly, I (4), Oct., 1937, 227-40). An intimate sketch of Tolmie's life, and particularly of his activities in the Pacific north-west.
- TYRRELL, J. B. *Letter of Roseman and Perch, July 10th, 1807* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXVIII (4), Dec., 1937, 391-7). This letter, received by David Thompson while at the head of the Columbia river, embodies certain instructions from American traders to British merchants regarding trade with Indians of the district.
- VAILLANCOURT, EMILE. *La France peut être heureuse sans Québec* (Queen's quarterly, XLIV (4), winter, 1937-8, 496-503). A French Canadian attempts to answer a Parisian journalist's query as to why the French Canadians changed their allegiance from France to England so completely in 1760.
- WOOD, WALTER SHEA. *The 130th infantry, Illinois National Guard* (Illinois State Historical Society journal, XXX (2), July, 1937, 193-255). This account of military operations of the militia of southern Illinois includes the story of the first organization of militia in the area in 1718, its combats with the Indians, and its participation in the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812.
- (4) **The Dominion of Canada**
- ABERDEEN and TEMAIR, ISHBEL MARIA, GORDON, Marchioness of. *Musing of a Scottish granny*. London: Heath Cranton. 1936. Pp. 208. (6s.) Includes stories of her life in Canada and of Sir William Van Horne and Father Lacombe.
- BENNETT, R. B. *Canada's naval policy* (Canadian defence quarterly, XIV (4), July, 1937, 388-400). An extract from the house of commons debates, March 25, 1937, in which the leader of the Conservative party endorses the Laurier policy of closer co-operation of Canada with the British admiralty in respect of Canada's defence.
- BRUNET, PIERRE. *L'expédition de Low* (Canadian defence quarterly, XIV (4), July, 1937, 448-53). An account of the expedition by the militia in 1895 against the Irish farmers on the Gatineau to force them to pay their taxes.
- BURT, A. L. *Canadian cross-currents* (Events, I (2), Feb., 1937, 131-4). Discusses Alberta and social credit and the question of French-Canadian nationalism in Quebec.
- *Stress and strain in Canada* (Events, II (7), July, 1937, 69-73). Outlines current political and economic problems.
- Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *Canada 1938: The official handbook of present conditions and recent progress*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1938. Pp. 192. (25c.) This handbook offers up-to-date information on all phases of Canada's economic organization. It includes a feature article on the Trans-Canada Airway and a special section on prairie farm rehabilitation.

- CARMAN, F. A. *Appointment of Rowell commission feature of last year* (Monetary times, C (2), Jan. 8, 1938, 22, 24). Discusses briefly the proposed amendment of the Canadian constitution and the problem of division of fiscal resources between the dominion and the provinces.
- CARROTHERS, C. C. *The constitution and the courts* (Quarterly review of commerce, summer-autumn, 1937, 153-6). An inquiry into the relationship between the supreme court of Canada and the judicial committee of the privy council.
- CHARLESWORTH, HECTOR. *I'm telling you: Being the further candid chronicles*. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1937. Pp. xiv, 344. (\$3.00) This volume of memoirs dealing with political and economic events in Canada during the past twenty years, includes many interesting pen pictures of Canadian celebrities. The author devotes six chapters to his own experiences as a public servant in establishing public service broadcasting in Canada.
- CORNER, HORACE C. (ed.). *The Canadian almanac and legal and court directory for the year 1938; containing authentic legal, commercial, statistical, astronomical, departmental, ecclesiastical, educational, financial and general information, together with a map of the world*. Toronto: Copp Clark Co. 1938. Pp. 673. (\$6.00)
- Deux discours de Lord Dufferin* (B.R.H., XLIII (10), oct., 1937, 307-8). Excerpts from two addresses given by Lord Dufferin to the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Québec in 1876 and 1878.
- FORSEY, EUGENE. *Disallowance of provincial acts, reservation of provincial bills, and refusal of assent by lieutenant-governors since 1867* (C.J.E.P.S., IV (1), Feb., 1938, 47-59). An attempt to set down the constitutional law and practice governing these powers in Canada.
- FULLER, BASIL. *Canada to-day and to-morrow*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1935. Pp. 288.
- GIBBON, JOHN MURRAY (ed.). Staff Foundation Library of the Canadian Pacific Railway. In ten volumes. These books cover all phases of the company's operations, including, in addition, studies on Canadian history, economics, etc., designed to encourage better citizenship among employees. Among the library's titles are: *Canadian Pacific facts and figures*; *Factors in railway and steamship operation*; and reprints of *The Dominion of Canada* by NEIL F. MORRISON, HERBERT HEATON, and JAMES C. BONAR, *The history of Canada through biography* by W. J. KARR, and *An introduction to economics for Canadian readers* by D. A. MACGIBBON.
- JENKINSON, SIR ANTHONY. *Where seldom a gun is heard*. London: Arthur Barker. [Toronto: Saunders.] 1937. Pp. viii, 247. (8s. 6d.) The author, an Englishman who visited America in 1936, includes in this volume his impressions of such Canadian phenomena as Alberta social credit, French-Canadian nationalism, and nickel-mining in Ontario.
- KEENLEYSIDE, H. L. *The department of external affairs* (Queen's quarterly, XLIV (4), winter, 1937-8, 483-95). An authoritative account of the origin and development of Canada's department of external affairs.
- KENNEDY, W. P. M. *The constitution of Canada, 1534-1937: An introduction to its development, law and custom*. Ed. 2. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xxx, 628. (\$5.00) To be reviewed later.
- MACDONALD, VINCENT C. *Our constitution seventy years after* (Saturday night, Aug. 14, 1937, 2). Urges the necessity for revision of the B.N.A. Act.
- MACFARLANE, R. O. *An historical approach to the Canadian constitution* (Monetary times, XCIX (18), Oct. 30, 1937, 3, 26-7). Extracts from a broadcast of the Kelsey Club, Winnipeg, over a network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.
- McKAGUE, W. A. *Shift in government powers?* (Saturday night, Dec. 11, 1937, 25, 27, 30). Considers some problems which face the Rowell Commission.

MACKENZIE, N. A. M. *The privy council and recent social legislation*. (Publications of the industrial law research council, vol. II, no. 2.) Toronto: Workers' Educational Association of Canada. May, 1937. Pp. 18-29 (mimeo.). Reviews the decisions of the privy council as to the validity of eight statutes introduced in the last years of the Bennett government.

MCNEIL, J. *Right turn in Canada* (Nation, Nov. 6, 1937, 497-9).

MURPHY, CHARLES (ed.). *1825—D'Arcy McGee—1925: A collection of speeches and addresses, together with a complete report of the centennial celebration of the birth of the Honourable Thomas D'Arcy McGee at Ottawa, April 13th, 1925*. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1937. Pp. xvi, 366, [18]. (\$2.75) This is a volume to commemorate the centennial of the birth of Thomas D'Arcy McGee, delayed in publication by the illness and death of the Hon. Charles Murphy. It contains a selection of McGee's speeches; some from *Speeches and addresses* (1865), but most are published in book-form for the first time, either from MS. or from reports in contemporary newspapers. Those reported from newspapers are usually too fragmentary to be of much value. The volume also contains the speeches delivered at the centennial dinner in Ottawa, April 13, 1925, which was organized by the late Hon. Charles Murphy. This book does not add anything fresh to our knowledge of McGee, but it will be welcome to his admirers and indeed to all interested in oratory for its republication of some of his famous speeches. The general format of the volume is excellent. [A. BRADY]

SANDWELL, B. K. *Public affairs: Federal disallowance* (Queen's quarterly, XLIV (4), winter, 1937-8, 542-8).

SPRINGETT, EVELYN CARTIER. *For my children's children*. Montreal: Unity Press. 1937. Pp. [vii], 204. To be reviewed later.

(5) The Great War

August 8th—the Battle of Amiens (Forty-niner, no. 26, Jan., 1938, 4-12). Deals with the activities of the 49th Canadian Battalion in the Battle of Amiens, 1918.

BOVEY, WILFRID. *World War* (*Encyclopedia of Canada* ed. by W. S. WALLACE, VI, Toronto, 1937, 322-79). Outlines the causes and events of the Great War, paying particular attention to the part played by the Canadian forces.

HASSE, F. R. *A touched-up war diary* (Forty-niner, no. 26, Jan., 1938, 26-9). Sixth instalment of a diary by a member of "A" Company and later of "The Signals" describes events from Feb. 22 to May 3, 1917.

IV. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

DENNIS, CLARA. *More about Nova Scotia: My own, my native land*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1937. Pp. xii, 412. (\$2.50) To be reviewed later.

ELLS, MARGARET. *A study of early provincial taxation: Being a tabular statement of fiscal legislation in Nova Scotia between 1751 and 1815, with an introduction and an appendix*. Prepared under direction of D. C. HARVEY, archivist. (Bulletin of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, vol. I (2), 1937, pp. 33.)

FARQUHAR, G. *Problem of provincial subsidies from the Maritime point of view* (Monetary times, XCIX (23), Dec. 4, 1937, 28; XCIX (24), Dec. 11, 1937, 18-9).

HALLAM, Mrs. W. T. *When you are in Halifax: Sketches of life in the first English settlement in Canada*. Toronto: Church Book Room. 1937. Pp. 83. Mrs. Hallam in this combined local history and guide book has brought together information

and anecdotes from records in London, from newspaper files in Halifax, and from various printed sources, in a story of the founding and early growth of Halifax. She sketches life before the American Revolution; the government, laws, churches, and newspapers (the first of which, however, appeared in 1752, not a year later); the coming of the loyalists; the career of the first church of England bishop in British North America; education; and the general business and social life. The colour and drama of the early period of Halifax's history are presented with evident enthusiasm, while the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are disposed of in nine pages. Illustrations, an index, and two maps, one of the first town, add to the interest and value of the volume. [MARION GILROY]

McKENZIE, N. R. *The Gael fares forth: The romantic story of Waipu and sister settlements*. Auckland, N.Z., London: Whitcombe and Tombs. 1935. Pp. 269, x. This volume is an account of the wanderings and settlements of the Scots pioneers of Waipu, New Zealand. It discusses their background in the old country and their settling in Nova Scotia before dealing with the migration which took them to the South Pacific dominion. Descriptions of the preparations for departure and the actual voyages give much interesting information about the economic and social state of Nova Scotia in the early eighteen-fifties, while the account of pioneering in their new homes and the material progress they achieved throws light on conditions in New Zealand during the period.

The book is not, and does not pretend to be, a unified piece of work. It is a collection of stories, reminiscences, notes, and quotations, many of them interesting, arranged topically under chapter headings. The author, Mr. N. R. McKenzie, is a native of Waipu, descended from the Nova Scotian pioneers, and his intimate knowledge of them has been supplemented by that of older members of the community. The book was produced under the guidance and with the active assistance of a committee of the town. Its limitations in form and scope have already been indicated. It is primarily of local interest. But for those seeking information as to New Zealand's early history and nineteenth-century development the book has valuable material. It has interest also as a record of pioneering and of Scottish colonizing. [MARGARET ELLS]

MAXWELL, LILIAN M. BECKWITH. *An outline of the history of central New Brunswick to the time of confederation*. Endorsed by the York-Sunbury Historical Society. Fredericton, N.B.: The author, Mrs. J. Brown Maxwell, 868 George st. 1937. Pp. viii, 183. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.

Nova Scotia, Province of. *Submission by the government of the province of Nova Scotia to the royal commission on dominion-provincial relations*. Halifax. 1938. Pp. 141. Also appendices to the same. Pp. 22.

STEWART, HERBERT L. *The voice of the Maritimes*. A column regularly in the *Financial post* commencing Nov. 6, 1937, which discusses the economic and financial aspects of Maritime problems.

(2) The Province of Quebec

FORSEY, EUGENE. *Quebec on the road to fascism* (Canadian forum, Dec., 1937, 298-300).

Je pardonne et je demande moi-même pardon (B.R.H., XLIII (10), oct., 1937, 309). A brief biographical account of Pierre-Alexis Tremblay, who began his political career in 1864 and died in 1879.

MÖLLMANN, ALBERT. *Das Deutschum in Montreal*. (Schriften des Instituts für Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschum an der Universität Marburg, Heft 11.) Mit 9 Karten im Text. Jena: Gustav Fischer. 1937. Pp. xii, 124. To be reviewed later.

ROBERTS, LESLIE. *What's up in Quebec?* (Canadian business, 11 (2), Feb., 1938, 20-1). Discusses Premier Duplessis's opposition to amendment of the British North America Act.

- SCOTT, F. G. *Quebec no more a happy family of Canadians* (Saturday night, Aug. 7, 1937, 2, 3). Deplores the movement of French Canadians in Quebec toward isolation and independence as a threat to the solidarity of the dominion.

(3) The Province of Ontario

- BAYLISS, JOSEPH and ESTELLE. *Historic St. Joseph island*. Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press. 1938. Pp. [x], 237. (\$2.00) To be reviewed later.
- CRUIKSHANK, E. A. *The activity of Abel Stevens as a pioneer* (Ontario Historical Society papers and records, XXXI, Toronto, 1936, 56-90). An account of the pioneering activities of Abel Stevens, loyalist, who came to Upper Canada from Vermont in 1793.
- LAVELL, W. S. *The history of the present fortifications at Kingston* (Ontario Historical Society papers and records, XXXI, Toronto, 1936, 155-77). Traces the history of Kingston as a military base from the establishment by the French of Fort Frontenac in 1673.
- Ontario Historical Society. *Papers and records*. Vol. XXXI. Toronto: Published by the Society. 1936. Pp. 259. The papers printed herein are listed separately in this bibliography.
- REID, W. D. *Johan Jost Herkimer, U.E., and his family* (Ontario Historical Society papers and records, XXXI, Toronto, 1936, 215-27). An interesting study of Captain Herkimer and his immediate family, who settled in Cataraqui (Kingston) in 1784.
- ROBINSON, PERCY J. *The beginning of Newmarket* (Newmarket era, Jan. 13, 1938, 6). Contains some hitherto unpublished material.
- Toronto (*Encyclopedia of Canada* ed. by W. S. WALLACE, VI, Toronto, 1937, 153-8). This historical account of the establishment and development of the city of Toronto includes a useful bibliography.
- STEVENSON, GEORGE H. *The life and work of Richard Maurice Bucke* (American journal of psychiatry, XVIII (5), March, 1937, 1127-54). An appraisal of the life and work of a great Canadian psychiatrist on the occasion of the centenary of his birth. Dr. Bucke was superintendent of the London Asylum from 1877 to his death in 1902.
- ✓ TEMPLIN, HUGH. *Fergus and the Rebellion of 1837* [Cover: "A few leaves from the past"]. (Condensed from a series of articles appearing in "That inside page" printed by the Fergus News-record, Dec., 1937.) Pp. 14.
- WALTON, J. M. *North York—now and then: History of this district and biography of its people*. A feature article published each week in the *Aurora banner*, Aurora, Ont.
- WILSON, PEARL. *Irish John Willson, and family, loyalists* (Ontario Historical Society papers and records, XXXI, Toronto, 1936, 228-42). The Willson family left New Jersey and settled in the Niagara district in Upper Canada in 1788.

(4) The Prairie Provinces

- BURCHILL, C. S. *An historical parallel* (Queen's quarterly, XLIV (4), winter, 1937-8, 520-32). The author sees in the economic and political situation in western Canada during recent years a reproduction of conditions which existed in the British colonies of North America before the revolution.
- DOUGLAS, C. H. *The Alberta experiment: An interim survey*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1937. Pp. vii, 220. (5s.)

IRWIN, W. A. *Crisis in Alberta* (Maclean's magazine, L (23), Dec. 1, 1937, 10-1, 48-50; L (24), Dec. 15, 1937, 15, 45-7).

Manitoba's case: A submission presented to the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations by the government of the province of Manitoba. Part I. Introduction, iii, 6; Part II. The constitutional relations of the dominion and the provinces, iii, 43; Part III. The effects of federal monetary policy on western Canadian economy, v, 47; Part IV. The effects of federal tariff policy on western Canadian economy, ii, 40; Part V. The effects of declining income, iii, 32; Part VI. The financial problems of municipalities and school districts, ii, 26; Part VII. Analysis of Manitoba's treasury problem, vi, 95; Part VIII. Manitoba's case—summary and recommendations, iv, 58; Part IX. An examination of certain proposals for the readjustment of dominion-provincial financial relations, iii, 29. Winnipeg: King's Printer. 1937.

Out in Alberta (Acta Victoriana, LXII (1), Nov., 1937, 1-6). While the author agrees that social credit as a theory may be rightly condemned, he feels that the political potentialities of the Social Credit party in Alberta have been totally misjudged.

Saskatchewan, Province of. *A submission by the government of Saskatchewan to the royal commission on dominion-provincial relations (Canada, 1937).* Prepared under the direction of Hon. T. C. DAVIS, attorney general for Saskatchewan. Regina. 1937. Pp. iv, 434.

VON DRYGALSKI, ERICH (ed.). *Amerikanische Landschaft: Entstehung und Entwicklung in Einzelbildern.* Ozarkland by RUDOLF SCHOTTENLOHER; Kanadische Prärie by MAX EICHMEIER; Florida by PETER BERGER; Jamaica by A. WILHELM KÜCHLER; Seattle by HOMER L. SEEGER. Berlin, Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter. 1936. Pp. viii, 532. (RM. 26)

WAINES, W. J. *Problems of the drought area in western Canada (Essays in political economy)* ed. by H. A. INNIS, Toronto, 1938, 205-18).

— *A western view on the problem of provincial subsidies* (Monetary times, XCIX (20), Nov. 13, 1937, 5, 28; XCIX (21), Nov. 20, 1937, 14, 16).

WALKER, GERTRUDE E. *Romantic Winnipeg.* Winnipeg: Farmer's Advocate Press. N.d. Pp. 48. This illustrated booklet gives the tourist brief historical glimpses of pioneer days in Winnipeg.

(5) British Columbia and the North-west Coast

BEERS, HENRY PUTNEY. *The army and the Oregon trail to 1846* (Pacific northwest quarterly, XXVIII (4), Oct., 1937, 339-62). An account of American military expeditions and outposts on the route to Oregon during the period of joint occupation by Americans and British.

HARVEY, A. G. *The mystery of Mount Robson* (British Columbia historical quarterly, I (4), Oct., 1937, 207-26). Six contradictory stories of the naming of Mount Robson in the Canadian Rockies leave the reader in doubt as to which, if any, is the correct one.

HULBERT, ARCHER BUTLER and HULBERT, DOROTHY PRINTUP. *The Oregon crusade: Across land and sea to Oregon.* With bibliographical résumé, 1830-1840. Vol. V: *Overland to the Pacific.* Denver: Stewart Commission of Colorado College and Denver Public Library. 1935. Pp. 301. (\$5.00) Enthusiasm aroused in the eastern United States for the missionary cause played an important part among the motives for the migration of the 1840's which had a large share in the settlement of the Oregon question. This fifth volume of the Charles B. Voorhis series "Overland to the Pacific" presents the chief documents relating to the pioneer activity of the American Board for Foreign Missions in the Pacific North-west culminating in the establishment of the Willamette valley mission by Jason Lee in 1834. Of particular interest to the Canadian reader are the comments on Queen Charlotte island of Jonathan Green who made a report in 1829 of the first exploration.

tory tour of the north-west coast with a view to the establishment of a missionary settlement. His report provides evidence of the friendly co-operation of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. As in the earlier volumes of this series the documents are allowed to speak for themselves, with only the occasional intrusion of the expert commentator. [W. E. IRELAND]

MACNAIR, H. F. (ed.). *The log of the Caroline (1799)* (Pacific northwest quarterly, XXIX (1), Jan., 1938, 61-84). The original and official account by Captain Richard Jeffry Cleveland of a voyage for fur-trading made from Canton to the north-west coast of America is here reproduced. It contains interesting details of early commercial relations between Americans, North American Indians, and Chinese.

MORRIS, GRACE P. *Development of Astoria, 1811-1850* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXVIII (4), Dec., 1937, 413-24). An interesting description of the changing fortunes of Astoria (later Fort George), the first enduring fur-trading post established at the mouth of the Columbia river.

REID, ROBIE L. (ed.). *To the Fraser river mines in 1858* (British Columbia historical quarterly, I (4), Oct., 1937, 243-53). A letter written to the editor of a Charlottetown newspaper in 1858 is here reprinted, in which the writer, Charles Gardiner, one-time native of Prince Edward Island and a participant in the gold-rush to British Columbia in 1858, describes his trip up the Fraser and Harrison rivers in June of that year.

ROWLAND, W. J. *No union with British Columbia* (Canadian comment, VI (11), Nov., 1937, 3-5). A 3,000-mile survey of the Yukon territory brings the author to the conclusion that the people of the Yukon are opposed to British Columbia's annexation plan.

(6) North-west Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions

BANKS, W. J. *The Yukon comes back* (United empire, XXIX (2), Feb., 1938, 76-80). An illustrated account of the economic resources and progress of the Yukon.

British polar year expedition, Fort Rae, N. W. Canada, 1932-33. Vol. I. *Discussion of results: Meteorology, terrestrial magnetism and aurora, atmospheric electricity*. Vol. II. *Tables*. Published under the direction of the British national committee for the polar year, Royal Society, Burlington House, London. 1937. Pp. xiv, 336; x, 228.

ELLSBERG, EDWARD. *Hell on ice: The saga of the "Jeannette"*. New York, Toronto: Dodd, Mead. 1938. Pp. xii, 421. (\$2.75) To be reviewed later.

FINNIE, RICHARD. *Trading into the north-west passage* (Beaver, outfit 268, no. 3, Dec., 1937, 46-53). The Hudson's Bay Company establishes fur-trading post, Fort Ross, on Bellot strait in 1937.

GUSTINE, JOHN S., jr. *The frozen Dutchman* (Beaver, outfit 268, no. 3, Dec., 1937, 24-6). Tells of the strange find of the Canadian geodetic survey party in the Arctic in 1902.

HUTCHISON, ISOBEL WYLIE. *Stepping stones from Alaska to Asia*. London, Glasgow: Blackie. 1937. Pp. x, 246. (\$3.75) To be reviewed later.

KETCHUM, W. Q. *Last of the great master mariners* (Canadian geographical journal, XV (3), Sept., 1937, 150-3). A brief sketch of Captain Joseph Elzéar Bernier, 1852-1934, famous Canadian Arctic explorer.

LUTHIN, REINHARD H. *The sale of Alaska* (Slavonic review, July, 1937).

ROSS, COLIN. *Mit Kind und Kegel in die Arktis*. Leipzig: Brockhaus. 1934. Pp. 218. (RM. 4.60) To be reviewed later.

SHACKLETON, EDWARD. *Arctic journeys: The story of the Oxford University Ellesmere Land expedition, 1934-5*. With a preface by the Rt. Hon. the Lord TWEEDSMUIR. London: Hodder and Stoughton. [Toronto: Musson.] 1937. Pp. 372. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.

SMITH, NICHOLAS. *Fifty-two years at the Labrador fishery*. London: Stockwell. 1936. Pp. 199. (5s.) To be reviewed later.

V. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

(1) General

CLARK, S. D. *The Canadian Manufacturers' Association—its economic and social implications* (Essays in political economy ed. by H. A. INNIS, Toronto, 1938, 75-84).

COOK, S. J. and BERRY, E. R. (comps.). *Handbook of scientific and technical societies and institutions of Canada*. (National Research Council, Ottawa.) Reprinted from bulletin no. 101, National Research Council, *United States Handbook of Scientific and Technical Societies and Institutions of the United States and Canada*. Ed. 3. Washington, D.C. 1937. Pp. 227-83. (50c.)

COUGHLIN, JAMES F. *New housing in Canada and other British nations*. Toronto: The author, 85 Richmond st. W. 1937. Pp. 51.

FEIS, HERBERT. *A year of the Canadian trade agreement* (Foreign affairs, XV (4), July, 1937, 619-35). Examines the results of the trade agreement between the United States and Canada which became effective Jan. 1, 1936.

LANIGAN, JOHN. *Foreign capital—friend or foe?* (Quarterly review of commerce, summer-autumn, 1937, 147-52). Welcomes the importation of foreign capital, particularly American capital, into Canada.

MORRISON, NEIL F. *Canadian manufacturing industries: A study of the localization of Canadian secondary industries*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1937. Pp. [iv], 27 (mimeo.). (\$1.25)

SANDWELL, B. K. *Two quarter centuries and their significance* (Saturday night, Jan. 1, 1938, 4, 7). A survey of Canadian economic history.

TILBY, A. WYATT. *Dominion finance: A study in national debt* (United empire, XXIX (2), Feb., 1938, 57-9). A statistical comparison of Canada's national debt with that of other countries in the British Empire and with the United States.

(2) Geography

BOWMAN, ISAIAH. *Geography in the creative experiment* (Geographical review, XXVIII (1), Jan., 1938, 1-19). Includes a discussion of geographical influences on the settlement and history of Greenland and Canada.

Maps of America: I. United States. II. British America. III. Latin America. New York: Argosy Bookstores. 1937. Pp. 46. A bulletin of new information about old maps, arranged in chronological order under topics.

WAGNER, HENRY R. *The cartography of the northwest coast of America to the year 1800*. In two volumes. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press. 1937. Pp. xiv, 543. (2 vols., \$20.) To be reviewed later.

(3) Immigration, Emigration, Colonization, and Population

BLAIR, F. C. *Canadian immigration affected by general economic conditions* (Monetary times, C (3), Jan. 15, 1938, 5, 29).

CORRELL, ERNST. *Mennonite immigration into Manitoba: Sources and documents, 1872, 1873* (conclusion) (Mennonite quarterly, XI (4), Oct., 1937, 267-83).

FORSEY, EUGENE. *Does Canada need immigrants?* Montreal: League for Social Reconstruction National Office, P.O. Box 1365. Pp. 9. (15c.)

Japan, Department of foreign affairs, Bureau for America. *General condition of American citizens of Japanese origin in North America.* (Hokubei nikkei shimin Gaikyo.) Tokyo: 1936. Pp. 180. Based on inquiries sent out by Japanese consuls in the United States and investigations made by different institutions, this book gives detailed statistics on total number, marital status, birth rate, mortality, and social problems of Japanese in Hawaii, the United States, and Canada.

MACKENZIE, NORMAN (ed.). *The legal status of aliens in Pacific countries: An international survey of law and practice concerning immigration, naturalization and deportation of aliens and their legal rights and disabilities.* A report in the international research series of the Institute of Pacific Relations issued under the auspices of the secretariat. London, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xii, 374. (\$6.25) To be reviewed later.

VI. BIBLIOGRAPHY

BEERS, HENRY PUTNEY. *Bibliographies in American history: Guide to materials for research.* New York: H. W. Wilson Co. 1938. Pp. 339. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.

The Burton historical collection of the Detroit Public Library. Detroit: Public Library Press. Pp. 16.

CLARK, ROBERT C. *The archives of the Hudson's Bay Company* (Pacific northwest quarterly, XXIX (1), Jan., 1938, 3-15). A brief description of the surviving records of the activities of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Pacific north-west in the period 1821-46.

CLEEVE, MARGARET (comp.). *British Commonwealth relations conference 1938: Selected bibliography relevant to the agenda for the conference.* London: Royal Institute of International Affairs. 1937. Pp. 106. (1s.) Here are assembled references to accessible material from which may be obtained information on historical, geographical, racial, political, and economic factors of members of the commonwealth which influence their external policies. It includes sections on imperial and colonial conference reports, on reports of the British Commonwealth relations conference, Toronto, 1933, as well as an important section on Canada.

DESROCHERS, FELIX. *Retracing the origin of our Canadian libraries* (Ontario library review, XXI (3), Aug., 1937, 113-5). Translation of an address delivered in French to the Ontario Library Association.

EWART, ALISON. *A bibliography of current publications on Canadian economics* (C.J.E.P.S., III (3), Aug., 1937, 477-88; (4), Nov., 1937, 615-26). In the August number there are sections on economic history; mining; hydro-electric power; and trade, commerce, and commercial policy; in November, fur trade and wild life; forestry and related industries; industry; transportation and communication; immigration, settlement, colonization, and land policy; population problems; and economic geography.

FAUTEUX, NOEL. *La presse du Bas-Canada et la rébellion de 1837-1838* (La revue populaire, XXX (10), oct., 1937, 7, 68-70). An historical account of the reformist press in Lower Canada at the time of the rebellion.

GOLDER, FRANK A. *Guide to materials for American history in Russian archives.* Vol. II. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1937. Pp. [vi], 55. (75c.) The Russian archives contain two kinds of material relating to the history

of America: (1) papers relative to diplomatic relations between Russia and the United States from the revolution to 1917; (2) papers relating to Russian explorations in the northern Pacific and the settlement and development of Russian America, now Alaska, down to its transfer to the United States in 1867. These materials are preserved in Moscow and Leningrad. Documents relating to Canada deal with Canadian-American relations (1854 and 1864-6): the Fenians, the Fraser river gold-rush, and navigation on the great lakes. Vol. I was reviewed in *Review of historical publications relating to Canada*, XXII, 1917-8, 126; vol. II comprises archives of the Russian ministry of foreign affairs, 1854-70.

GREGORY, WINIFRED (ed.). *American newspapers, 1821-1936: A union list of files available in the United States and Canada*. New York: H. W. Wilson. 1937. Pp. 807. To be reviewed later.

HAMILTON, MILTON W. *The country printer, New York state, 1785-1830*. (New York State Historical Association series ed. by DIXON RYAN FOX, no. 4.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1936. Pp. xiv, 360. (\$3.75)

Harvard reading list in American history. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1937. Pp. 22.

International bibliography of historical sciences. Edited for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Washington. (International Committee of Historical Sciences, Zürich.) London: Oxford University Press; New York: H. W. Wilson. First year (1926), 1930, pp. lxxviii, 366; second year (1927), 1932, pp. lxxx, 432; third year (1928), 1933, pp. cviii, 462; fourth year (1929), 1933, pp. cviii, 498; fifth year (1930), 1934, pp. cxii, 516; sixth year (1931), 1936, pp. xxxvi, 532; seventh year (1932), 1934, pp. cxvi, 528; eighth year (1933), 1935, pp. xxxii, 512; ninth year (1934), 1936, pp. xlv, 492.

KENNEY, J. F. *Address to the Ontario Library Association, Ottawa, 24 May, 1937* (Ontario library review, XXI (4), Nov., 1937, 162-4). Gives valuable information concerning the facilities of the Public Archives of Canada and stresses the need for co-operation between the public libraries and the Archives.

LAMB, W. KAYE. *British Columbia official records: The crown colony period* (Pacific northwest quarterly, XXIX (1), Jan., 1938, 17-25). The author discusses crown colony records under four headings: first, Vancouver Island 1849-58; the next two consist of concurrent records of separate colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia; and the fourth includes records of the colonies after their amalgamation, 1866-71.

McARTHUR, DUNCAN. *The Ontario Archives and the historical societies* (Ontario Historical Society papers and records, XXXI, Toronto, 1936, 5-10). A discussion of the functions of the Archives and historical societies ends with a plea for closer co-operation between them.

MEYNEN, EMIL (ed.). *Bibliography on German settlements in colonial North America: Especially on the Pennsylvania Germans and their descendants, 1683-1933*. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz. 1937. Pp. xxxvi, 636. (R.M. 18) This comprehensive bibliography of some 8,000 titles covers fully the history of the Germans in Pennsylvania and will be of value to special students of the German settlements in the Maritime Provinces and Ontario. There are special short sections on these German settlements and on the Mennonite settlements in Ontario.

MORGAN, WILLIAM THOMAS. *A bibliography of British history (1700-1715): With special reference to the reign of Queen Anne*. Vol. II: 1708-1715. Assisted by CHLOE SENER MORGAN. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University. 1937. Pp. vi, 684.

NABOLZ, HANS and KLÄUI, PAUL (eds.). *Internationaler Archivführer*. (Kommission für Archivfragen des Internationalen Ausschusses für Geschichtswissenschaft.) Zürich: Rascher. 1936. Pp. 110. (M. 2.40) A handbook designed principally for historical workers as a guide to research in the national and departmental libraries of the world.

NORMANDIN, A. L. *Official publications of the parliament and government of Canada* (Ontario library review, XXI (3), Aug., 1937, 107-12). Contains valuable information concerning government publications, their printing and their distribution.

The northwest bookshelf: A checklist of crown colony imprints (British Columbia historical quarterly, I (4), Oct., 1937, 263-71). This list is intended as the first in a series which will constitute, as nearly as possible, a complete bibliography of printing and the press in the crown colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia.

OSWALD, JOHN CLYDE. *Printing in the Americas*. New York: Gregg Publishing Co. 1937. Pp. xli, 565. In this interesting survey of the history of printing in North, Central, and South America, the space devoted to printing in Canada is naturally small. It is, in fact, less than eighteen pages; and it is devoted, not to a history of printing in Canada, but merely to an account of the beginnings of printing in the various provinces of British North America. The prudent reader will therefore not expect to find anything here that he will not find in Mr. Ægidius Fauteux's *The introduction of printing into Canada* (Montreal, 1929). He will expect, however, in view of the fact that the chapters on Canada are only a summary, to find that summary accurate. But in this he will be disappointed. The chapter on Ontario, for instance, contains several errors. Colonel John Graves Simcoe is once more credited with the honour of knighthood; the fort established by the French at Toronto, "named Rouille [sic]", is said to have been "destroyed in 1793" by the British; it is said that York "was partly destroyed in 1812, but was rebuilt and incorporated under the name of Toronto"; Stephen Miles, the first printer of Kingston, is described as "L. Stephen Miles"; and J. G. Chewett, the publisher of *The Upper Canada almanac* of 1827, appears as "J. G. Chewitt". These are perhaps small matters; but it is regrettable that so many errors should occur in the narrow compass of two pages.

It should be added that the volume is beautifully printed, is embellished with many illustrations of title-pages, etc., and has a very full index. For the history of printing in the United States, the book is a valuable work of reference. [W. S. WALLACE]

PALTSITS, VICTOR HUGO. *Some manuscript sources for the history of central and western New York in the New York Public Library* (New York history, XIX (1), Jan., 1938, 58-63).

Royal Empire Society, London. Reading lists on: *The question of colonial claims* (16 pp.); *Imperial defence* (11 pp.); *Foreign relations of the British Empire* (8 pp.). London: The society. 1937. (mimeo.) (3d. each)

SABIN, JOSEPH. *Bibliotheca Americana: A dictionary of books relating to America, from its discovery to the present time*. Begun by JOSEPH SABIN, continued by WILBERFORCE EAMES, and completed by R. W. G. VAIL for the Bibliographical Society of America. Parts 1-82, 1867-1881; parts 83-116, 1884-1892; parts 117-172, 1927-1936. 29 vols. New York: 476 Fifth ave.

TÉTRAULT, MAXIMILIENNE. *Le rôle de la presse dans l'évolution du peuple franco-américain de la Nouvelle Angleterre avec une liste chronologique des journaux publiés dans les états de l'Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, New-York et de la Nouvelle Angleterre*. Marseille: Imprimerie Ferran. 1935. Pp. 145. The penetration of French Canadians into New England provides a social and economic problem of great complexity which demands a much more thorough and objective treatment from historians than has as yet been given to it. Mlle Tétrault's chief contribution in this monograph is her valuable list of some three hundred periodicals—many of them obscure and ephemeral. She has done a distinct service to scholars who may attempt to examine the cultural inter-relations of French Canada and the United States.

Toronto Public Library (comp.). *The Canadian catalogue of books published in Canada, about Canada, as well as those written by Canadians, with imprint of 1936*. No. 15. 1937. Toronto: The library. Pp. 48. (50c.)

VII. ETHNOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY, AND ARCHAEOLOGY

(Contributed by Professor T. F. McIlwraith.)

- ALLAN, JOHN. *Some observations concerning the stature of freshmen entering the University of Toronto, Canada* (Man, XXXVII, Aug., 1937, 123-6). A statistical study of changes in the height of freshmen at the University of Toronto over a number of years.
- AVERKJEVA, J. P. *L'esclavage chez les tribus du littoral nord-occidental de l'Amérique du Nord* (L'ethnographie soviétique, Moscow, IV-V, 1935, 40-61). In Russian.
- BAILEY, ALFRED GOLDSWORTHY. *The conflict of European and eastern Algonkian cultures, 1504-1700: A study in Canadian civilization*. (Publications of the New Brunswick Museum, monographic series no. 2.) Saint John, N.B.: The New Brunswick museum. 1937. Pp. 206. See p. 82.
- BARRET, P. *Bibliographie américaniste* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes, XXVII (2), 1936, 423-548). An extensive, annual bibliography of American anthropology, arranged according to region and subject.
- BARTLETT, ROBERT A. *Greenland expedition of 1936* (Explorations and field-work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1936: Washington, Smithsonian Institution (publication 3407), 1937, 41-6). A brief article with some photographs of Ammassalik Eskimo.
- BENEDICT, RUTH. *Patterns of culture*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin. 1934. Pp. xiii, 291. One of the three native cultures selected for thorough description is that of the Kwakiutl of Vancouver island.
- BIRKET-SMITH, KAJ. *The composite comb in North America* (Ethnos, II (2), March, 1937, 33-7). A note on the distribution of combs in North America.
- *The Eskimos*. (Translated from the Danish by C. DARVILL FORDE: foreword by DIAMOND JENNESS.) London: Methuen. 1936. Pp. xiv, 250; 32 plates, 1 map. This is an excellent example of a new type of anthropological work, comprising a summing-up of existing data in conjunction with field investigations to present a picture of the life of a people (or tribe), accurate and yet written with sufficient appeal to the general reader to be commercially publishable. The author describes the types of life in different parts of the Arctic, discussing the effects of environment and climate, and deals with Eskimo material culture, religion, social structure, psychology, and language, utilizing and interpreting published accounts in the light of his own experience. Not the least interesting section is a comparison of the roles of governments in Greenland, Alaska, and Canada.
- BOAS, FRANZ. *The religion of the Kwakiutl Indians*. Part I: *Texts*. Part II: *Translations*. (Columbia University contributions to anthropology, X.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1930. Pp. xviii, 284; viii, 288. Reviewed vol. XVIII (3), 338-9.
- *La sorcellerie chez les Indiens Kwakiutl* (L'ethnographie soviétique, Moscow, IV-V, 1935, 32-9). In Russian.
- BOEKELMAN, HENRY J. *Two probable shell trumpets from Ontario* (American antiquity, II (4), April, 1937, 295-6). A note on two conch shells, probably used as trumpets, from a Neutral cemetery in southern Ontario.
- BOGORAS-TAN, W. G. *Nicolas Marr sur les origines de l'homme américain* (L'ethnographie soviétique, Moscow, I, 1935, 43-56). In Russian.
- COLEMAN, BERNARD. *The religion of the Ojibwa of northern Minnesota* (Primitive man, X (3-4), July and Oct., 1937, 33-57). An excellent general account of Ojibwa beliefs in the region of Minnesota and north-western Ontario.

- COLLINS, HENRY B., JR. *Archeological excavations at Bering strait* (Explorations and field-work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1936: Washington, Smithsonian Institution (publication 3407), 1937, 63-8). A summary report of important excavations at Cape Prince of Wales, Alaska.
- *Archeology of St. Lawrence island, Alaska.* (Smithsonian miscellaneous collections, 96 (1).) Washington: Smithsonian Institution. 1937. Pp. xi, 424; 84 plates, 26 text figures. An admirable description of the results of excavations on St. Lawrence island in sites illustrating Eskimo cultural sequence extending from the elaborate and early "Old Bering Sea" culture to the present. Fully illustrated and documented, with distribution tables of the important elements, this volume is of major significance in a study of Eskimo history.
- *Culture migrations and contacts in the Bering sea region* (American anthropologist, XXXIX (3, part 1), July-Sept., 1937, 375-84). Remains from relatively recent Eskimo sites in the Bering strait area show resemblances to the Thule culture of the central Arctic and Greenland, whereas specimens from older sites are definitely divergent. This suggests an Eskimo movement westward to Bering strait which must have interrupted contact between the tribes of the Asiatic mainland and British Columbia, the evidence for which is found in folk-lore and other cultural resemblances.
- CORLETT, WILLIAM THOMAS. *The medicine-man of the American Indian and his cultural background.* Springfield and Baltimore: Charles C. Thomas. 1935. Pp. ix, 369; 24 illustrations. A popularly written, but comprehensive volume on disease and its treatment by the American Indians. The practices of different areas are described separately, followed by chapters on child-bearing and *materia medica*. The author, a physician, has dealt with the subject from a medical as well as an anthropological point of view.
- COUTTS, GEORGE. *Seal hunting with Kubluk* (Beaver, outfit 267 (4), March, 1937, 4-9, 61). A popular account, with illustrations, of seal-hunting with an Eskimo on the west side of Hudson bay.
- DAVIDSON, DANIEL SUTHERLAND. *Snowshoes.* (Memoirs, American Philosophical Society, VI.) Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1937. Pp. x, 207. A comprehensive study of snow-shoe types and distribution, with observations on their probable origin and relationship to skis.
- DE LAGUNA, FREDERICA. *Preliminary report of an archaeological and geological reconnaissance of the middle and lower Yukon valley* (Miscellanea, American Philosophical Society, I (2), [1936], 31-40). A summary of the results of an archaeological survey in the Yukon valley.
- *A preliminary sketch of the Eyak Indians of Copper river delta, Alaska* (Publications of the Philadelphia Anthropological Society, I, 1937, 63-75). A preliminary sketch of the culture of the Eyak, a small Athabaskan-speaking tribe of Alaska, greatly influenced by the Eskimo and the Tlingit.
- DOERING, J. FREDERICK. *Pennsylvania German folk medicine in Waterloo county, Ontario* (Journal of American folk-lore, XLIX (193), July-Sept., 1936 (issued June, 1937), 194-8). A brief description of magical remedies.
- DOUGLAS, F. H. *Copper and the Indian.* (Denver Art Museum, Department of Indian Art, leaflet 75-6.) Denver. Dec., 1936. Pp. 97-104.
- *Parfleches and other rawhide articles.* (Denver Art Museum, Department of Indian Art, leaflet 77-8.) Denver. Dec., 1936. Pp. 105-12.
- *Plains beads and beadwork designs.* (Denver Art Museum, Department of Indian Art, leaflet 73-4.) Denver. Dec., 1936. Pp. 89-96.
- *Totem poles.* (Denver Art Museum, Department of Indian Art, leaflet 79-80.) Denver. Dec., 1936. Pp. 113-20. Four excellent, popular leaflets, well illustrated and accurate, devoted (73-4) to the techniques and designs of bead-work among the Plains Indians; (75-6) to the manufacture and use of copper in North America; (77-8) to work in skin among the Plains Indians; and (79-80) to the construction, decoration, and use of totem-poles.

- EGGAN, FRED (ed.). *Social anthropology of North American tribes: Essays in social organization, law, and religion, presented to Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown upon the occasion of his accepting the chair of social anthropology at Oxford University*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1937. Pp. xvii, 456. To be reviewed later.
- EICKSTEDT, EGON FREIHERR VON. *Über die Herkunft der blauäugigen Akansasindianer* (Zeitschrift für Rassenkunde, VI (1), July, 1937, 105-7). An extract from an eighteenth-century German scientist, Christoph Girtanner, on Norse voyages to the new world, and their effect on Indian racial characteristics.
- FEWKES, VLADIMIR J. *Aboriginal potsherds from Red river, Manitoba* (American antiquity, III (2), Oct., 1937, 143-55). Pottery fragments from Manitoba show resemblances to "Woodland Pattern" types, and also to specimens from Siberia.
- FISCHER-MÖLLER, K. *Skeletal remains of the Central Eskimos*. (Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24, III (1).) Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag. 1937. Pp. 96; 3 figs., 33 tables, 52 charts, 8 plates. A comprehensive study of Eskimo skeletal remains from Naujan, a Thule site on Repulse bay.
- FISHER, REGINALD G. *The relation of North American prehistory to post-glacial climatic fluctuations*. (University of New Mexico and School of American Research, monograph no. 3.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1935. Pp. 91. A study of the effects of climatic fluctuations upon prehistoric culture in America.
- FRIEDMANN, HERBERT. *Bird bones from Eskimo ruins on St. Lawrence island, Bering sea* (Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, XXIV (2), Feb., 1934, 83-96). Identification of bird bones from prehistoric sites on St. Lawrence island indicates the species of wildfowl used as food by the Eskimo.
- GEIST, OTTO W. and RAINEY, F. G. *Archaeological excavations at Kukulik*. (Miscellaneous publications, University of Alaska, 2.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1936. (Issued April, 1937.) Pp. 391; 78 plates. A detailed report on Alaskan Eskimo archaeology.
- GIBSON, WILLIAM. *Sir John Franklin's last voyage* (Beaver, outfit 268 (1), June, 1937, 44-75). In addition to its historical value, this article contains excellent photographs of, and observations on, the Eskimo of the King William island area.
- GOLDMAN, IRVING. *The Kwakiutl Indians of Vancouver island (Cooperation and competition among primitive peoples, ed. by MARGARET MEAD. New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1937, 180-209)*. An analysis of Kwakiutl (Vancouver island) society and economics, showing the dominance of the concept of prestige in the relation of the individual to his fellows.
- HAECKEL, JOSEF. *Totemismus und Zweiklassensystem bei den Sioux-Indianern* (Anthropos, XXXII (1-2), Jan.-April, 1937, 210-38; XXXII (3-4), May-Aug., 1937, 45-501; XXXII (5-6), Sept.-Dec., 1937, 795-848). A comprehensive and analytical study of social groups and their functions among the Sioux Indians.
- HALLOWELL, A. IRVING. *Cross-cousin marriage in the Lake Winnipeg area* (Publications of the Philadelphia Anthropological Society, 1, 1937, 95-110). A study of the distribution and role of cross-cousin marriage among the Cree and Saulteaux of western Ontario and eastern Manitoba.
- *Temporal orientation in western civilization and in a pre-literate society* (American anthropologist, XXXIX (4, part 1), Oct.-Dec., 1937, 647-70). A careful study of the methods of indicating time, and of reactions to time consciousness, among the Berens river Saulteaux east of Lake Winnipeg, together with observations upon the effects of contact with European attitudes towards time observance and punctuality.
- HAMMERLICH, L. L. *Personalendungen und Verbalssystem im Eskimoischen*. (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser, XXIII (2).) Copenhagen: Leven & Munksgaard. 1936. Pp. 226. A comprehensive study of certain Eskimo grammatical processes.

- HEINBECKER, PETER. *Ketosis during fasting in Eskimos* (Journal of biological chemistry, XCIX (1), Dec., 1932, 279-82). Case studies of ketosis among Baffin island Eskimo.
- HENNIG, R. *Rassische Überreste mittelalterlicher Normannen bei Eingeborenen Nord amerikas* (Zeitschrift für Rassenkunde, VI (1), July, 1937, 20-8). A careful-summing-up of the biological and archaeological evidence for pre-Columbian Scandinavian expeditions to the new world.
- HEWITT, J. N. B. *Field studies of the Iroquois in New York state and in Ontario, Canada* (Explorations and field-work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1936: Washington, Smithsonian Institution (publication 3407), 1937, 83-6). A brief description of linguistic studies among the Iroquois.
- HILGER, M. INEZ. *Some phases of Chippewa material culture* (Anthropos, XXXII (5-6), Sept.-Dec., 1937, 780-2). A description of tanning and the preparation of birch-bark by the Ojibwa (Chippewa).
- HINSDALE, W. B. and GREENMAN, EMERSON F. *Perforated Indian crania in Michigan*. (Occasional contributions from the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan, no. 5.) Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press. 1936. Pp. 15; 5 plates. Skulls with circular perforations, performed after death, appear to be characteristic of Indian sites in eastern Michigan and western Ontario.
- HOTZ, GOTTFRIED. *Über eine Büffeldecke mit indianischen Bilderschriften* (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, LXIX (1-3), 1937, 26-30). A description of a painted bison robe from the western plains, with interpretation of the symbols depicted; the specimen is about 100 years old.
- HRDLÍČKA, ALEŠ. *Archeological explorations on Kodiak and the Aleutian islands* (Explorations and field-work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1936: Washington, Smithsonian Institution (publication 3407), 1937, 57-62). A preliminary account of archaeological work on Kodiak island and at several sites on the Aleutians.
- HYDE, GEORGE E. *Red Cloud's folk: A history of the Oglala Sioux Indians*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1937. Pp. xi, 331; 2 maps. A scholarly history of the Oglala Sioux from the shadowy period of the seventeenth century until their settlement on reservations in 1878.
- JENNESS, DIAMOND. *Arrow-straighteners, thong-smoothers, and bâtons-de-commandement* (Man, XXXVII, May, 1937, 73-4). In spite of superficial resemblances, Eskimo tools for straightening arrow shafts differ in detail from those used for smoothing thongs; Upper Palaeolithic bâtons-de-commandement resemble the latter rather than the former.
- *The Indian background of Canadian history*. (National Museum of Canada, bulletin 86, anthropological series 21.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1937. Pp. 46; 5 figures. This volume consists of two essays, the first a thoughtful appraisal of Indian life at the time of European contact and of the reasons for the slowness of new world developments in comparison with the old; the second is a reconstruction of pre-Columbian tribal movements in Canada, reprinted from *Custom is king*.
- *The Ojibwa Indians of Parry island, their social and religious life*. (National Museum of Canada, bulletin 78, anthropological series 17.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1935. Pp. vi, 115. Reviewed vol. XVIII (3), 339.
- *The Sekani Indians of British Columbia*. (National Museum of Canada, bulletin 84, anthropological series 20.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1937. Pp. v, 82. To be reviewed later.
- JENSEN, H. *Die Verwandtschaftsnamen im Grönländischen* (Archiv für Anthropologie, XXIII (4), 1935, 334-9).
- JOHNSON, FREDERICK. *Problems surrounding the classification of certain culture complexes in New England* (American antiquity, III (2), Oct., 1937, 161-5). A consideration of archaeological problems in New England and the St. Lawrence valley.

- JONES, VOLNEY H. *Notes on the preparation and the uses of basswood fiber by the Indians of the great lakes region* (Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters, XXII for 1936, Ann Arbor, 1937, 1-14). A detailed description of the manufacture of basswood cord by the Ojibwa of Walpole island, Ontario.
- KIHN, W. LANGDON. *When red men ruled our forests* (National geographic magazine, LXXII (5), Nov., 1937, 551-8, 567-74, 583-90). Twenty-four coloured reproductions of paintings of scenes of Indian life, illustrating an article by Matthew W. Stirling.
- KNOWLES, SIR FRANCIS H. S. *Physical anthropology of the Roebuck Iroquois*. (National Museum of Canada, bulletin 87, anthropological series 22.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1937. Pp. viii, 75. A comprehensive report on skeletal remains from an Iroquoian site in Grenville county, Ontario, together with a comparative study of similar material from Ontario and New York.
- KÖNIG, HERBERT. *Die Eskimo-Mundarten von Nord- und Nordost-Labrador* (Anthropos, XXXII (3-4), May-Aug., 1937, 595-632). A detailed study of an Eskimo dialect from northern Labrador.
- KROEBER, A. L. *Athabaskan kin term systems* (American anthropologist, XXXIX (4, part 1), Oct.-Dec., 1937, 602-8). A comprehensive analysis of kinship systems among the Athabaskan-speaking peoples, including the northern tribes of the North-west Territories.
- LANDES, RUTH. *The Ojibwa of Canada (Cooperation and competition among primitive peoples, ed. by MARGARET MEAD. New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937, 87-126)*. An important study of social life and economics among the Rainy river Ojibwa, with special reference to the interactions of individuals in the life of the community. Based on unpublished field work, it adds considerably to our knowledge of social behaviour in this important Ontario tribe.
- LEECHMAN, DOUGLAS. *Archaeology in the eastern Arctic* (Museum news, XV (3), June, 1937, 6-7). Observations on the excavation and treatment of archaeological material from Eskimo sites.
- Native paints of the Canadian west coast (Technical studies in the field of the fine arts, V (4), April, 1937, 203-8). A study of materials, preparation, and use of paints by the coastal Indians of British Columbia.
- LINDBLOM, GERHARD. *A Kwakiutl totem pole in Stockholm* (Ethnos, I (6), Nov., 1936, 137-41). A description of a Kitlope (northern Kwakiutl) totem-pole recently obtained by the Ethnographical Museum of Sweden.
- LINDERMAN, FRANK B. *Blackfeet Indians*. Illustrated by WINOLD REISS. Saint Paul: Great Northern Railway. 1935. Pp. 68; 49 colour plates. A series of reproductions in colour of Blackfoot portraits, with a popular account of tribal life.
- LIPS, JULIUS E. *Public opinion and mutual assistance among the Montagnais-Naskapi* (American anthropologist, XXXIX (2), April-June, 1937, 222-8). Among the Montagnais-Naskapi of Labrador, an individual's behaviour is regulated with great precision by the force of public opinion; this is shown by a study of the help which must be given in time of need even to bitter enemies.
- McKERN, W. C. *An hypothesis for the Asiatic origin of the Woodland culture pattern* (American antiquity, III (2), Oct., 1937, 138-43). Pottery and artifacts, belonging to the ancient "Woodland Pattern" of which the centre of distribution is Minnesota, appear to be unrelated to adjacent cultures, but show resemblances to specimens from Manitoba, Alaska, and even Mongolia.
- MATHIASSEN, THERKEL. *Archaeology in Greenland* (Antiquity, IX (34), June, 1935, 195-203). A summing-up of Eskimo history, as revealed by many years of excavation in Greenland.

- MATHIASSEN, THERKEL. *The Eskimo archeology of Greenland* (Annual report of the board of regents of the Smithsonian Institution for 1936, Washington, 1937, 397-404). A reprint, with changed title, of an article which appeared in *Antiquity*.
 ——— *The former Eskimo settlements on Frederik VI's coast*. (Meddelelser om Grønland, CIX (2).) Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzels. 1936. Pp. 58. A detailed study of the rather scanty Eskimo remains from the south coast of Greenland, east of Cape Farewell.
- *Skraelingerne i Grønland*. (Udgivet af udvalget for folkeoplysnings fremme.) Copenhagen: i kommission hos G. E. C. Gad. 1935. Pp. 140.
- and HOLTVED, ERIK. *The Eskimo archaeology of Julianhaab district, with a brief summary of the prehistory of the Greenlanders*. (Meddelelser om Grønland, CXVIII (1).) Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzels. 1936. Pp. 141. A description of the results of excavations in southern Greenland, west of Cape Farewell, with an important summing up of the history of the Eskimo in Greenland as revealed by extensive archaeological work.
- A memorial figure of a Haida shaman (Ethnologia cranmorensis, Cranmore Ethnographical Museum, Chislehurst, England, I, 1937, 12). An illustrated description of a Haida wooden portrait statuette dating from the middle of the last century.
- MICHELSON, TRUMAN. *Friendship in North America* (Man, XXXVII, May, 1937, 88). Additional references to friendship groupings among Indian tribes.
 ——— *Some linguistic features of Speck's "Naskapi"* (American anthropologist, XXXIX (2), April-June, 1937, 370-2). A series of comments on, and analyses of, linguistic points in Speck's *Naskapi*.
- MIRSKY, JEANNETTE. *The Eskimo of Greenland (Cooperation and competition among primitive peoples, ed. by MARGARET MEAD. New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937, 51-86)*. A synthesis of the economic activities, social structure, and personal characteristics of the Ammassalik Eskimo of east Greenland. The data have been compiled from published records and include a series of case histories.
- N[ELSON], N. C. *Early migration of man to America* (Natural history, XXXV (4), April, 1935, 356). A brief note on stone implements from Alaska of a type identical with those found in the Gobi desert.
 ——— *Notes on cultural relations between Asia and America* (American antiquity, II (4), April, 1937, 267-72). A further report on stone implements from Alaska closely resembling specimens from Mongolia.
- OLSON, RONALD L. *The Quinault Indians*. (University of Washington publications in anthropology, VI (1).) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1936. Pp. 200. A thorough study of an Indian tribe of Washington.
- OSGOOD, CORNELIUS. *The ethnography of the Tanaina*. (Yale University publications in anthropology, 16.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. 229. To be reviewed later.
- PATIENCE, J. R. *Why the loon walks crooked* (Beaver, outfit 268 (1), June, 1937, 4). A popular rendering of a Cree folk-tale.
- PHILLIPS, W. J. *Aboriginal art* (Beaver, outfit 268 (2), Sept., 1937, 40-7). A popular account of north-west coast carving.
 ——— *Art in the archives* (Beaver, outfit 267 (4), March, 1937, 10-15, 61). A brief account of the activities of Kane, Murray, and Ballantyne, artists of the last century whose work largely centred on Indian subjects.
- PORSILD, A. E. *Edible roots and berries of northern Canada*. (National Museum of Canada.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1937. Pp. 17. A botanical study with a few notes on the utilization of berries and roots by the Eskimo.

- QUAIN, B. H. *The Iroquois (Cooperation and competition among primitive peoples, ed. by MARGARET MEAD. New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937, 240-81).* A comprehensive and useful summary, based both on published data and on information recently obtained, of the social structure of the Iroquois, with emphasis upon the interaction and co-operation of individuals and of social groups in the economic life of the community.
- QUIMBY, GEORGE I., JR. *Notes on Indian trade silver ornaments in Michigan* (Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters, XXII for 1936, Ann Arbor, 1937, 15-24). Silver ornaments found in Michigan Indian sites of the eighteenth century are shown to be largely of Montreal manufacture.
- RALEY, GEORGE H. *A monograph of the totem poles in Stanley park, Vancouver, British Columbia.* Vancouver, 1937. Pp. 24. A popular description of the significance of totem-poles, with special reference to those preserved in Stanley park, Vancouver.
- RAY, VERNE F. *The historical position of the Lower Chinook in the native culture of the northwest* (Pacific northwest quarterly, XXVIII (4), Oct., 1937, 363-72). A study of the affinities of the Lower Chinook has led to an acute analysis of the origin and distribution of elements of north-west coast culture.
- RIDE, LINDSAY. *Anthropological studies amongst North American Indians of British Columbia* (The Caduceus (University of Hong Kong), XIV, 1935, 205-16). A study of blood groups, palmar formulae, and hair whorls.
- RITCHIE, WILLIAM A. *The Iroquois and the birdstone* (American antiquity, II (3), Jan., 1937, 214-5). A disclaimer that birdstones (or bird amulets) were made by the Iroquois.
- RODNICK, DAVID. *Political structure and status among the Assiniboine Indians* (American anthropologist, XXXIX (3, part 1), July-Sept., 1937, 408-16). A study of political organization and chieftainship among the Assiniboine of the northern plains.
- SARGENT, DANIEL. *Catherine Tekakwitha.* New York and London: Longmans, Green, 1936. Pp. viii, 246. Reviewed XVIII (3), 333.
- SCHMIDT, WILHELM. *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee: Eine historisch-kritische und positive Studie.* II Teil, V Band: *Nachträge zu den Religionen der Urvölker Amerikas, Asiens und Australiens.* Münster: Aschendorff'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1934. Pp. xxxviii, 921. II Teil, VI Band: *Endsynthese der Religionen der Urvölker Amerikas, Asiens, Australiens, Afrikas.* Münster: Aschendorff'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1935. Pp. xxxvii, 600. These two volumes include comprehensive compilations on the religions of various tribes in North America, with critical studies of the problems of religious growth.
- SIDDIQI, M. A. H. *Observations on the lower end of the femur from American Indians and modern Canadians* (Journal of anatomy, LXX (3), April, 1936, 410-2). A comparison of anatomical features, showing the effect of the characteristic squatting posture of the American Indians.
- SIEBERT, F. T., JR. *Mammoth or "stiff-legged bear"* (American anthropologist, XXXIX (4, part 1), Oct.-Dec., 1937, 721-5). Myths suggestive of mammoths have been recorded from several tribes of north-eastern America; a Penobscot version has the bear as the central figure.
- SPECK, FRANK G. *Naskapi: The savage hunters of the Labrador peninsula.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935. Pp. 248; 19 plates, 26 figures. See p. 85.
- Remarks on Isikowitz's "Musical instruments of the South American Indians" (Ethnos, II (3), May, 1937, 93-5). A series of observations on the use of bark moose-calls, sucking-tubes, and scraping sticks in North America.
- Swimming-paddles among northern Indians* (American anthropologist, XXXIX (4, part 1), Oct.-Dec., 1937, 726-7). A note on a swimming device used by the Montagnais of the Lake St. John region.

- STIRLING, MATTHEW W. *America's first settlers, the Indians* (National geographic magazine, LXXII (5), Nov., 1937, 535-96). A beautifully illustrated, popular description of the Indians of America, with observations on their present condition.
- UHLENBECK, C. C. *Thesen über eskimoisch-indogermanische Anklänge* (Zeitschrift für Rassenkunde, V (1), Jan., 1937, 91). A brief exposition of the significance of resemblances between the Eskimo and the Indo-Germanic languages.
- WALLACE, W. STEWART (ed.). *The encyclopedia of Canada*. Toronto: University Associates of Canada. 1935-7. 6 vols. This encyclopaedia, of which the last volume has just been published, contains brief, descriptive notes on many of the Indian tribes of Canada, as well as longer reports on Indians in general by A. G. BAILEY, on the Eskimo by D. JENNESS, and on the Salish and the Sekani by F. W. HOWAY.
- WARDLE, H. NEWELL. *The scope of the rite of adoption in aboriginal North America* (Publications of the Philadelphia Anthropological Society, I, 1937, 211-9). A careful study of different types of adoption in North America.
- WAYLING, THOMAS. *Eskimo exodus* (Canadian geographical journal, XIII (9), Jan., 1937, 518-29). A brief, illustrated account of modern Eskimo movements in the eastern Arctic.
- WHITTAKER, C. E. *Arctic Eskimo*. London: Seeley, Service & Co. 1937. Pp. 260; 16 plates, 32 text illustrations, 1 map. A popular description of Eskimo life, based on the experience of many years in the Arctic; it is written in an interesting style and is full of anecdotes, but with no scientific pretensions.
- WILLIAMS, M. P. With a note by ADRIAN DIGBY. *A carved pestle and pipe-stem from British Columbia* (Man, XXXVII, Nov., 1937, 169-70). A brief, illustrated description of a pestle and a tubular pipe, both carved with zoomorphic designs, from the Okanagan valley, B.C.
- WYMAN, LELAND C. and BOYD, WILLIAM C. *Blood group determinations of prehistoric American Indians* (American anthropologist, XXXIX (4, part 1), Oct.-Dec., 1937, 583-92). A recently developed technique has made possible, in some cases, a determination of blood grouping from a study of desiccated tissue; this method has been applied to a number of "mummies" from Alaska.
- ZECHLIN, EGMONT. *Das Problem der vorkolumbischen Entdeckung Amerikas und die Kolumbusforschung* (Historische Zeitschrift, Monaco, CLII (1), 1935, 1-47).

VIII. ART AND LITERATURE

- CARRIÈRE, JOSEPH MÉDARD. *Tales from the French folk-lore of Missouri*. (Northwestern University studies in the humanities, no. 1.) Evanston and Chicago: Northwestern University. 1937. Pp. x, 354. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.
- HOLT-MURISON, BLANCHE E. *John Innes' life work* (Saturday night, Aug. 14, 1937, 7). A sketch of John Innes, Vancouver painter, who tells on canvas the story of the Canadian pioneer.
- MORGAN, JOHN HILL and FOOTE, HENRY WILDER. *An extension of Lawrence Park's descriptive list of the work of Joseph Blackburn* (American Antiquarian Society proceedings, XLVI (1), April 15, 1936, 15-81). Among the additions to Park's list (published by the American Antiquarian Society in 1923) of the works of this little-known colonial painter, are descriptions of Blackburn's portraits of Molly Brant and Sir William Johnson.
- ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES. *Les légendes canadiennes* (Les cahiers des dix, no. 2, 1937, 45-92). A number of early French-Canadian legends are recounted.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

(The contribution of information suitable for this section is welcomed.)

APPOINTMENT OF AN ARCHIVIST BY THE PROVINCE OF SASKATCHEWAN

The Regina *Leader-post* of January 13 carried notice of the appointment of Professor A. S. Morton to the newly created post of keeper of the public records of the province of Saskatchewan. The announcement was made under the authority of the Hon. J. W. Estey, minister of education. Arrangements have been made by which parts of the public records of the province will be transferred from time to time to the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon. The remainder will be stored in vaults in the legislative buildings at Regina. The work will be carried on under the supervision of a committee of which the Hon. J. W. Estey and the Hon. S. J. Latta are members. The materials transferred to the university will be kept separate from other historical materials and will be preserved as a collection of public records of the province. The department of history of the university will, however, have a close relationship with the work done on the collection. Mr. Morton is remaining in the university as librarian and head of the department of history. A start has already been made in the transfer of materials from Regina to the university, and calendars of the material both printed and manuscript will be prepared as rapidly as possible.

This important advance with regard to the Archives of Saskatchewan is most welcome. The Prairie Provinces have up to the present given little attention to the problem of preserving their historical records. These records will be indispensable not only to students of history but to economists, public officials, and others who have to do with the framing of public measures. From the point of view not only of western Canada but of the dominion as a whole, the continued neglect of the historical records of the Prairie Provinces would be most unfortunate. The government of Saskatchewan is to be heartily commended for the lead which it has now given.

THE ARMS OF THE COUNTY OF BRANT

A comment on the arms of the county of Brant, written by Judge A. D. Hardy of Brantford, has been sent to the REVIEW by Mr. C. W. Jefferys. Judge Hardy's note was called forth by the article on "Canadian municipal arms" in our issue of last September. Mr. Jefferys remarks that the way in which the seal was produced seems to present a model for such things. A committee of the Brant Historical Society of which Judge Hardy was chairman gave careful thought to the undertaking, and the work was entrusted to the best heraldic designer of his time in Canada, the late A. H. Howard, R.C.A. Judge Hardy's description and comment are as follows: "The arms consist of a shield, crest and motto. In the shield, an Indian in full accoutrement, with tomahawk and pipe of peace in hand, stands in a gold background. In the vert of the shield is a gold wheel between two golden sheaves of wheat. The crest is a bear standing upon two pieces of wood bound tightly together. The motto is *Fidelitas et Industria*. The shield, crest and motto are encircled by a band bearing the inscription *The Corporation of the County of Brant, Ontario, 1853*. This coat of arms or seal was adopted in 1913 by the county council of Brant in substitution of the original seal of the county of 1852.

At the close of the Revolutionary War the Six Nations Indians received a tract six miles wide on each side of the Ouse (Grand) river, where their historic chief chose what is now Brant county for their home. As no profile save that of royalty is permitted on a shield, the profile of Brant could not be used unless it was used in the sense of his being a forest king, the confederacy sometimes giving this title to the noted war chief, as in the case of his predecessor King Hendrick.

The Indian representation on the face of the shield is similar to the figure which surmounts Brant's monument. The one feather in his headdress signifies that the wearer is a chief; the tomahawk represents the past; the pipe of peace the present. The six feathers in the calumet of pipes are emblematic of the Six Nations Indians and the Indian by the waves azure recalls Brant's historic words: 'I shall sink or swim with the British.' It is also symbolical of Brant's Ford—Brantford.

A bar separates the gold background from the green and this bar in heraldry signifies a chief. In the vert, the gold wheel between two golden sheaves of wheat are emblems of a 'flourishing industrial centre in the heart of a rich agricultural district'.

The county being named after Brant, his coat of arms as leader of the Six Nations Indians and his name were chosen for the crest. Brant's clan totem was the wolf. The national or rather confederate totem was the bear. That is, it is common to each tribe or nation and has been adopted and is now in use upon the seal of the Six Nations, and being more comprehensive than the clan totem, was chosen for the crest. Joseph Brant's Indian name, Thayendanege, in English signifies 'Two sticks of wood bound together'. The bear stands on two sticks, the one being of pine, the old historic emblem of the Six Nations and the other of oak emblematic of allegiance to Great Britain, the two being very tightly bound together by the centuries-old 'covenant chain' which never tarnishes because of the faith in the 'Great Father beyond the waters'."

The annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association will be held in Ottawa on May 23 and 24. The programme will be centred around the theme of the decade of the 1840's as a period of revolutionary change in British North America. Three of the sessions will be joint sessions with the Canadian Political Science Association; at one of them the presidential addresses will be given. Inquiries regarding the meeting may be addressed to the secretary, Mr. Norman Fee, The Public Archives, Ottawa.

The Queen's University Summer School of Historical Research at the Public Archives, Ottawa, will this year be under the direction of Dr. Gerald S. Graham of the department of history of Queen's University. Inquiries may be addressed to the registrar of the university, Kingston, Ontario.

Catalogues of the historical museums at Louisbourg and at Beauséjour have now been issued and are noted in our list of recent publications. The number of gifts received at Beauséjour has been very large and it is hoped that a new wing may be built in the near future.

The Public Archives of Nova Scotia has now added to its publications a bulletin, the first two issues of which are included in our list of recent publications. They consist of source-material and are edited with the same careful attention that has been given to the other publications brought out under Mr. Harvey's direction.

CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Art, Historical and Scientific Association, Vancouver, B.C. The year 1937 marked the forty-fourth milestone in the history of the association, whose major activity is the Vancouver City Museum and Civic Art Gallery. Of special interest during the year was the series of educational lectures at the museum, made possible by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, which included papers bearing on the history of British Columbia and the north-west coast. The president's report announces that the official presentation to the city, by the historic sites and monuments board, of the cairn erected to mark the site of the Great Fraser Midden at Marpole, will take place in May next. Recent acquisitions of local historic interest include pictures of Moodyville in 1880 and 1913, presented by Mr. Patrick Barr, and a water-colour painting, showing the waterfront of Alert bay, presented by Mr. George Curtis. President, Charles Hill-Tout; secretary and curator, T. P. O. Menzies.

Brant Historical Society. The president, Judge A. D. Hardy, addressed the January meeting of the society. He took as his topic the story of the pioneer Major Arnold Burrowes, first commander of the Brantford Light Infantry, and the settlement of his family on the estate of "Strathmore" on the Grand river in the township of Brantford in the 1830's. The paper is printed in full in the *Brantford Expositor*, Jan. 28, 1938.

British Columbia Historical Association: Victoria Section. Meetings of the society were addressed on November 16 by Mr. R. H. B. Ker, and on December 21 by Mr. W. M. Halliday, who was for thirty years Indian agent at Alert bay. Mr. B. A. McKelvie also gave a short account of a trip made by Mr. Halliday and himself up the coast of Vancouver island to Nigei island in search of relics left by the fur-trader, James Strange, in 1786. He told of their discovery of a round fragment of copper which they believed to have been buried by Strange.

Brome County Historical Society. The society maintains a free public museum at Knowlton, P.Q., which is open daily except Sundays from July 1 to September 1. Its collection includes household and farm implements, portraits, documents, etc., relating to the county of Brome and adjacent counties, as well as a war museum. A stone school building, erected in 1844 or 1845 near Knowlton, has recently been transferred to the society to be preserved. Recent publications of the society include volume IV of its *Transactions*, and volume II of the *History of Brome county* by the Rev. Ernest M. Taylor (1937); and there is now in the press a catalogue of documents in the museum, an article "The birth of the Eastern Townships", and a "Bibliography of the Eastern Townships". President, Homer A. Mitchell; secretary, Harry B. Shufelt, 3436 Durocher st., Montreal.

Canadian Catholic Historical Association: French Section. At the meeting of the society held in Toronto, October, 1937, the following officers were elected for the French section: Honorary president, His Eminence Cardinal Villeneuve; president, Abbé Lionel Groulx; first vice-president, M. Victor Morin; second vice-president, R. P. Thomas-Marie Charland; secretary, M. Séraphin Marion, The Public Archives, Ottawa; treasurer, R. P. Alphonse Tessier.

The *Graduate Historical Society of the University of British Columbia* is making a special study of "Nationalism in the far east" during the 1937-8 season. Its

programme includes a paper by Mr. Charles Woodsworth on the "History of the oriental question in B.C." Corresponding secretary, Miss Marion Root, 4534 West 4th ave., Vancouver.

Haldimand Historical Society. The society's museum is growing steadily. In particular, an interesting collection of Indian relics has been built up, and a county picture gallery is being developed. The society's work is reported monthly in the local county papers. The society is hoping to place in the Court House, Cayuga, a bronze plaque bearing the names of the men of the county who fell in the Great War. Officers of the society are: Past president, D. Duff; president, Sherriff Miller; vice-presidents, Mrs. R. A. Miller, Mr. S. B. Harrison, and Mr. J. C. Payne; secretary-treasurer, Mrs. K. V. Peart, Cayuga; assistant secretary, Mr. Russel Harper, Cayuga.

The *Historical Association of Annapolis Royal* held its first quarterly meeting in 1938 on February 8, presided over by the president, Colonel E. K. Eaton. Colonel Eaton, as honorary superintendent of Fort Anne National Park, read excerpts from his annual report which showed that there were 12,046 visitors to Fort Anne Museum last year. Among new displays he mentioned the ship room as the most prominent. Mrs. F. C. Gilliatt read "A tale of the days of the loyalists". Miss Gladys MacKinnon gave a biographical sketch of Charlotte Elizabeth, one of Nova Scotia's first authoresses and Miss Dorothy Cameron read excerpts from Charlotte Elizabeth's book, a recent gift to Fort Anne library. A "Sketch of farm life many years ago" was given by Mrs. E. K. Eaton, followed by readings of humorous extracts from newspapers published in Annapolis Royal over sixty years ago, by Colonel F. W. Harris. Colonel Eaton reported progress in the clearing of Champlain's gardens to prepare for the cuttings of wild frost grape vines being sent from the Association of Port Royal in Cape Cod, from vines growing at Stage Harbour and designed to continue the experiments of Sieur de Poutrincourt and Louis Hébert in 1606.

Hudson's Bay Record Society. The formation of the Hudson's Bay Record Society has been announced by the Hudson's Bay Company. The classification of the company's Archives has been proceeding for several years with a view to publication. One volume, independently edited, will be published each year in association with the Champlain Society. Membership in the Hudson's Bay Record Society will be limited and the subscription will be \$5.00 per annum. The subject of the first volume, to be published in 1938, is Sir George Simpson's Athabasca journal and report, 1820-1. Inquiries with regard to membership in the society should be directed to the secretary, Canadian Committee, Hudson's Bay Company, Hudson's Bay House, Winnipeg.

London and Middlesex Historical Society. President, Edwin Seaborn; secretary, H. Orlo Miller, Apt. 4, 420 Ridout st., London; treasurer, Professor Fred Landon.

The *Lundy's Lane Historical Society* held its annual meeting in November, and the early history of the organization was briefly outlined by the secretary, Mr. J. C. Morden. To celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the society plans are being made to erect a tablet to the memory of the Rev. Canon G. A. Bull, founder and first president of the society which held its first meeting in the Mechanics Institute on June 23, 1887. The society also went on record as favouring the erection of a

suitable memorial in recognition of the services rendered by the Six Nations Indians in the War of 1812.

Officers: honorary president, General E. A. Cruikshank; honorary vice-presidents, J. H. Jackson and Mrs. E. W. Tench; president, the Rev. Percival Mayes; vice-presidents, Miss S. E. Crysler, Dr. L. Hatzan, and Mrs. Stanley Tolan; auditor, Miss J. C. Barnett; secretary-treasurer, J. C. Morden; executive committee, C. L. Biggar, Mrs. Birdsall, Miss Helen Nelles, Miss M. Forrester, and Dr. H. Crysler.

The *Niagara Historical Society* is showing an active interest in the renovation of old Fort George recently begun by the Niagara parks commission. The curator reports many interesting acquisitions during the past year, among which are a long, strongly built box said to have been used for ammunition in the War of 1812, a large map with the names of owners of lots, Methodist magazine, 1847, and other relics received from the Cooper estate. The officers for 1938 are: honorary president, General E. A. Cruikshank; president, the Rev. C. H. E. Smith; first vice-president, J. M. Mussen; second vice-president, W. H. Harrison; corresponding secretary, Miss G. Carnochan; treasurer, Mrs. J. M. Mussen; curator, Miss C. Creed.

La Société d'Histoire des Cantons de l'Est. At a meeting of the members of La Société Historique des Cantons de l'Est held at St. Charles College on November 15, 1937, it was resolved that the French name of the society be changed to La Société d'Histoire des Cantons de l'Est. The society has a membership of 6 honorary, and 62 active members. Mr. G. D. Wadsworth has recently donated to the archives a piece of wooden rail formerly purchased for the construction of the Sherbrooke Eastern Townships & Kenebec, now the Quebec Central Railway.

La Société Historique de Montréal. The following papers were read before the society during 1937: "La Chirurgie dentaire au Canada depuis le régime anglais" by Dr. Paul-Emile Poitras; "L'ex-moine Gavazzi à Montréal en 1853" and "Un touriste du Chili au Canada, en 1853, Benjamin Vicuna-MacKenna" by Le P. Armand Yon; "Un centre d'affaires important du faubourg 'Quebec', Montréal, vers 1870" by M. Napoléon Brisebois; "La mission canadienne Cavelier de La Salle à la Louisiane, mars-avril, 1937" by Mgr Olivier Maurault; "Les Cageux du Saint-Laurent" by Abbé René Desrochers; "Documents et manuscrits de la société historique de Montréal" by M. Ægidius Fauteux; "Les anciennes navigations des Basques du côté de l'Amérique" by M. Edmond Buron; "Un document inédit (1812) sur les droits de la langue française au Canada" by M. Maréchal-Nantel. President, Ægidius Fauteux; vice-president, Mgr Olivier Maurault, secretary, Jean-Jacques Lefebvre; treasurer, Montarville Boucher de la Bruère; permanent address, 1210 rue Sherbrooke est, Montréal.

La Société Historique du Saguenay has made steady progress since its reorganization in 1934. Its library, housed in the Séminaire du Chicoutimi, now contains some 630 volumes. The society's archives has acquired photostat copies of "Second registre de Tadoussac" and "Miscellaneorum liber" (records of missionaries 1668-1756), "Registres B et C de la Société de Colonisation de l'abbé Hébert", copies of the *Journal de Normandin*, and a number of documents dealing with the fur trade. Its collection of maps and relics of historical interest is continually growing. At the present time the society is preparing a general history of the Saguenay district. President, Abbé Victor Tremblay; vice-president, M.

Percy Martin; secretary, Abbé Francis Lemay; treasurer, M. J.-Omer Lapointe; librarian, Abbé Alphonse-Elzéar Tremblay.

Thompson Valley District Museum and Historical Association. Interesting Hudson's Bay Company journals for Thompson's river district at Fort Kamloops have been rescued and preserved by Mr. David Power. These include the Kamloops journals of Paul Fraser (son of Simon Fraser) for the years 1850-2 and the journals of Donald McLean, chief trader, for the period January, 1859 to September, 1860. The Provincial Archives at Victoria have made transcripts of the original journals, to add to those of John Tod's, already preserved in the Archives.

Welland County Historical Society. The fifth volume of the *Papers and records* of the society is now in the press, the first to be issued in six years, owing to difficulty in financing. The present number has a diversity of articles, including a sort of doomsday book of the old township of Fort Erie, now Bertie; a description with plans of the Fort Wellington that was to have been built in the Shorthills over a century ago; some new light on the Morgan episode, from the diary of one who was a witness of the last phases of the event. [LOUIS BLAKE DUFF]

Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa. At the monthly meeting of the society held on January 14 in the Archives, Mr. Stephen L. Holmes, acting high commissioner for Great Britain, gave an address on "The public schools of England". Mr. Arthur Bourinot, Ottawa poet, read from his own works which dealt with early French Canada. Miss Eve Maxwell-Lyte of London, England, presented a programme of folk songs at the meeting of February 14, giving a brief background for each song.

BOOK-NOTES FOR TEACHERS

(*The CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* will be pleased to supply information with regard to books or publishers mentioned in its pages.)

Selected Titles in English History

Several recent books will help teachers who are in search of material on the expansion of the British Empire. *From empire to a commonwealth of nations* by C. Midgley (Exeter, A. Wheaton and Co., 64 pp., cloth, 1s., limp, 6d.) is an excellent class-room text, containing thirty-four short accounts of topics on empire development. Each topic is closely integrated with the geographical and economic background, and the book is well illustrated with maps, pictures, graphs, and time charts. In spite of its conventional treatment and ornate binding, *The pioneers, founders and builders of the British Empire* by Cumberland Clark (London, Mitre Press, 200 pp., 5s.) is a good account of empire history written in a style suitable for lower-school pupils. A comprehensive teachers' book is *The British Empire* by George W. Southgate (Dent, 428 pp., \$1.50). The author has combined a chronological and a geographical method of arrangement, but has stressed the more modern aspects of empire development, as he says, "so that the reader may be made acquainted with the actual problems that confront the statesmen and the people of the British Empire at the present day and may take an intelligent interest in the future course of events". A short but satisfactory book of maps for the class-room is *The atlas of English and empire history* by C. Boyd Bowman (Macmillan, 31 pp., 45c.). It contains seventeen maps, all but three of which deal with the period following 1603, and also chronological notes and summaries.

A book especially suitable as a class-room reader in social history is volume III of *English people of the past* by R. J. Mitchell and M. J. Whicher (Longmans, Green, 176 pp., 75c.). By means of a typical though imaginary family, the authors trace the social, economic, and political development of England from 1603 to 1832, laying special emphasis upon the evolution of parliamentary government and the main causes and results of the industrial revolution. The titles of a few chapters will give some idea of the scope of the book: "A manor house in the reign of James I"; "Plague and disaster"; "A Tory and a Jacobite"; "A pioneer landowner of the eighteenth century"; "A weaver's apprentice and the new machines"; "Dr. Johnson's London". *The teacher's book of social history* by Margaret Elliot (Dent, 93 pp., \$1.25) is a well-illustrated account of everyday life in England from the Norman conquest to the present. Each of the nine chapters is divided into the following subdivisions: home life, dress, amusements, education, crafts, shops and trade, transport and roads. *English economic history* by George W. Southgate (Dent, 352 pp., \$1.50) is a companion volume of *The British Empire*, which is mentioned above. It deals with British commercial, economic, and industrial development from the manorial system to the decline of laissez-faire.

A history of England by C. E. Carrington and J. Hampden Jackson (Macmillan, 486 pp., \$1.00) covers the political and constitutional history of Great Britain from the Elizabethan period to 1936. It is authorized in the provinces of Nova Scotia, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. A topical-chronological treatment of British history from earliest times to 1937 is *A history of Britain* by H. B. King (Macmillan, \$1.25). In spite of its immature style and several historical inaccuracies, it contains material on more recent history which is not easily available. A recent addition to the "Life and progress histories" is *British history: 1688-1936* by Keatinge, Perry, and Pasley (A. and C. Black, 695 pp., \$1.80). The last nineteen chapters cover the modern period, dealing fully with such subjects as parliamentary reform, the expansion of empire, the Victorian age, developments in science and industry, trade unions and the labour movements, the Great War, and the post-war world. [DOUGLAS M. BROWN]

The Situation in the Far East

Perhaps the best survey of the issues in the far-eastern conflict is *China and Japan*, a brochure of 130 pages issued in February by the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House, 75c.). The American council of the Institute of Pacific Relations has recently issued several pamphlets, notably *Economic preparedness in China and Japan* (15c.); *Japan in jeopardy* by Bruno Lasker (10c.); *America and the far eastern war* by William W. Lockwood, jr. (10c.); and *China's capacity for resistance* by Frederick V. Field (10c.). The Foreign Policy Association's "Headline books", *Clash in the Pacific* (1936, 25c.) and *War in China* (1938, 25c.) provide the background in brief, popular form. Useful articles are to be found in *Amerasia* (monthly, New York, \$2.50 a year, 25c. a copy); *Far eastern survey* (fortnightly, New York, \$2.50 a year, 25c. a copy); and *Pacific affairs* (quarterly, New York, \$2.00 a year).

Nobody can understand the far-eastern situation unless he knows something of the mentality of the Chinese and Japanese peoples. Lin Yutang's fascinating book, *My country and my people* (New York, 1935), is an excellent analysis of the Chinese character. There is nothing quite comparable on Japan, but Guenther Stein's *Made in Japan* (London, 1935) will be found useful. Two books specially prepared for teachers are Helen Pratt's *China and her unfinished revolution* and

Japan, where ancient loyalties survive (New York, 1937). Keys to the change in Chiang Kai-Shek's policy following his kidnapping in December, 1936, are to be found in Edgar Snow's appraisal of Chinese communism, *Red star over China*, (London, 1937); Generalissimo and Mme. Chiang's *Sian: A coup d'état* (Shanghai, 1937); Peng-Chun Chang's *China at the crossroads* (London, 1936); and Robert Berkov's *Strong man of China*.

Light is thrown on British and American policy in the far east by Mr. Henry L. Stimson's, *The far eastern crisis* (New York, 1936). Canada's interest in far-eastern affairs is discussed in Mr. William Strange's excellent book, *Canada, the Pacific and war* (Toronto, 1937), issued under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

Most of the books and pamphlets mentioned above may be obtained from the League of Nations Society, Ottawa. [E. B. ROGERS]

Aids to the Teaching of International Affairs

The League of Nations Society in Canada has recently published two mimeographed guides to reading on international affairs: one for secondary schools, the other for elementary schools. That for the secondary schools is topically arranged, beginning with sections on Canada and other countries and continuing with topics on armaments and defence, the league of nations and its work, etc. The books are listed with prices, brief descriptions, and comments. That for elementary schools deals with the league of nations, problems of war and peace, dictatorship, democracy, etc. The books suggested are suited to the age-level of the students in the elementary schools. These guides should be an indispensable aid to teachers interested in international affairs.

Pictures to Illustrate Canadian History

Canadian social history pictures: I. Loyalist pioneers: II. Early social and commercial life by J. E. Laughlin (ten pictures in each set; Toronto, Clarke, Irwin, n.d., \$1.25 the set). Social history is usually the last to be written, and it presents difficulty to the teacher who needs every available aid. The appearance of Mr. Laughlin's graphic illustrations of pioneer life is therefore welcome. While talented early settlers, visiting artists, and officials and soldiers trained in drawing, have left us many representations of first settlements, early fortifications, and other prominent landmarks, they very seldom set themselves the more difficult task of portraying the ordinary life of the people. This is especially, therefore, a field for the modern artist who has made a careful study of the homes, the furnishings, the costumes, and the spirit of early times. Mr. Laughlin has in general done his work well, both in respect of accuracy and execution. We see settlers at farm work, at "bees" and "frolics", at church, mill, and by their own firesides. An illustrator naturally attempts to include as much as possible of his subject, and a few of the illustrations appear a little overcrowded with persons; others are somewhat idealized. The times of the pioneers were crude, and the pictures might suggest something more of the makeshift and suffering, the hardships and the inability to cope with strange and harsh conditions, which were a large part in the average settler's experience. But both the artist and the publisher are to be heartily congratulated upon the general excellence of what, it is to be hoped, are but the first two sets in a long series of historical illustrations. As they are made available so cheaply, the common excuse of restricted funds does not prevent their wide distribution. [EDWIN C. GUILLET]

A study of *The use of films and slides in Canadian schools*, Dominion bureau of statistics (Education statistics branch, Ottawa, 1937, 25c.) reveals a wealth of available illustrative material in Canadian history. This exhaustive pamphlet gives the names and addresses of more than sixty sources of films, governmental and industrial. Of special value to teachers is *Catalogue of motion pictures*, produced by the Canadian government motion picture bureau (Department of trade and commerce, Ottawa, 25c.) which lists almost two hundred films of which we append a few sample titles: "Canada's highways", "Frontiers of the north", "The cradle of confederation", "The city of the loyalists", "The land of Evangeline", "The national celebration of Canada's diamond jubilee". The economic aspects of Canadian history are represented by such films as: "Salmon fishing on the Skeena", "Export trade and prosperity", "Marketing Canadian apples", "The conquest of the forest". [DOUGLAS M. BROWN]

Miscellaneous Notes

Of recent works on Roman history, *Augustus* by John Buchan (Mussion, \$5.00) should be of special interest to Canadians. It is a lucid account of the life, work, and mind of a great statesman, graced by sound scholarship, and enhanced by the interest of its author in the wider fields of history and government. Although Augustus occupies the centre of the stage, the *milieu* in which his genius worked is by no means neglected. One might mention in particular the imaginary tour of the provinces which acquaints the reader with phases of Roman life regrettably unfamiliar to the layman. In view of certain ill-informed criticism of this work, it may be stated that the early Roman Empire was not a totalitarian state, and that the book, far from being a manifesto of fascism, is a dispassionate attempt to evaluate the achievement of Augustus in the light of history. [M. ST. A. WOODSIDE]

The Bible comes alive by Sir Charles Marston (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 8s. 6d.). This volume, written by a man who has generously contributed towards the work of excavation at Jericho and Tell Duweir, describes recent discoveries there and attempts to reconcile the Old Testament and the results of modern archaeology. The reader will probably be most interested in the discovery that Jericho was destroyed by earthquake and razed by fire about 1400 B.C., a fact which may largely explain the narrative of Joshua. Elsewhere the author is frequently on less certain ground and, as he adopts the role of advocate rather than that of judge, his position is often open to criticism. Nevertheless in this and his previous volume he has shown that modern research and biblical records are not at such wide variance as was, until recently, supposed. [DAVID MUNROE]

The voyages of Jacques Cartier, retold by Esther Averill, illustrated by Feodor Rojankovsky (New York, Domino Press, 94 pp., \$3.00). The text is directly and simply written and quotes freely from Cartier's journals. The book is beautifully illustrated and designed.

To teachers familiar with the earlier histories of Robinson and Beard, *History of civilization—our own age* by Beard, Robinson, and Smith (Ginn, 1937) may be of special interest. In this volume the history of civilization is traced since the age of Louis XIV, approximately one-quarter of the 811 pages of the entire work being assigned to the period from 1914 to the present. While the authors have retained in a revised form certain features of their earlier histories, they have given special attention in this volume to "problems of teaching and the demands of the

latest classroom practice", and notably in the following features: the introductory chapter on the significance of history as the background of the social studies; the division of the volume into parts, chapters, and sections all closely related to a single purpose—an understanding of the world to-day; the assignment with each chapter of questions and answers, discussion topics, and additional adventures in learning, "such as making maps and looking up new materials in encyclopedias and other books". [FRANCES ROBINSON]

Mr. Robert M. Rayner's *A concise history of modern Europe, 1789-1914 with an epilogue, 1914-1936* (Longmans, Green, 1936, \$1.15) is designed "for candidates for the School Certificate" in England with the hope "that the book will arouse in those who use it a genuine interest which will survive even enforced study for examinations". Some stimulating suggestions may be found in the following features: the provision with each division of (a) a brief introductory paragraph indicating the chief trends of the period, (b) notes suggestive to the student of ways of combining, in his own work, supplementary and text-material, and (c) a list of questions useful for both class-discussion and examination-purposes; the inclusion of (a) ten maps adaptable for black-board work, and (b) two interesting diagrams—a time-chart of the French Revolution and a graph of the career of Napoleon. [FRANCES ROBINSON]

The following titles have also come to our attention. (Mention here does not preclude a later and lengthier notice): CHARLES A. BEARD and MARY R. BEARD, *The making of American civilization*; colour illustrations by STANLEY M. ARTHURS (New York, Macmillan [Toronto, Macmillan Co. of Canada], 1937, xvi, 932, xliii pp., \$2.20); MIRIAM BEARD, *A history of the business man* (New York, Toronto, Macmillan, 1938, viii, 779 pp., \$5.50); WITT BOWDEN, MICHAEL KARPOVICH and ABBOTT PAYSON USHER, *An economic history of Europe since 1750* (New York, American Book Co., 1937, viii, 948 pp., \$4.25); A. L. BURT, *The romance of Canada: a new history* (authorized by the minister of education for use in the schools of British Columbia; Toronto, Gage, 1937, 400 pp.); JAMES CARTY, *European history: Part I (to A.D. 1000)* (London, Macmillan [Toronto, Macmillan Co. of Canada], 1937, viii, 288 pp., 90c.); J. H. CURLE, *The face of the earth* (London, Methuen, 1937, iv, 244 pp., 6s.); ALICE TURNER CURTIS, *A little maid of Valley Forge* (Philadelphia, Penn. Pub. Co., \$1.50—a little girl's adventures during the Revolution); HENRY WILLIAM ELSON, *History of the United States of America*, rev. and enlarged ed. (New York, Macmillan [Toronto, Macmillan Co. of Canada], 1937, xxvi, 1028, lxvi pp., \$2.80); W. FREEMAN GALPIN, *A history of England* (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1938, xvi, 843 pp., \$5.75—a college text); CLARENCE HAWKES, *Igloo stories: Six tales of Eskimo land* (Boston, Christopher Pub. House, 1937, 152 pp., \$1.50); P. H. and A. C. KERR, *The growth of the British Commonwealth*, rev. ed. (London, New York, Toronto, Longmans, Green, 1937, viii, 214 pp.); G. W. MORRIS, *The building of the commonwealth* (Macmillan's senior school series, terminal book D; London, Macmillan [Toronto, Macmillan Co. of Canada], 1936, [iv], 113 pp., 40c.); DONALD CULROSS PEATTIE, *The story of the new lands*, illustrated by NAOMI AVERILL (New York, Grosset and Dunlap, 1937, [24] pp., 50c.—a children's book on the discovery of America); T. W. RIKER, *A short history of modern Europe* (New York, Macmillan [Toronto, Macmillan Co. of Canada], 1935, xiv, 800 pp., \$3.75); JENNINGS B. SANDERS, *Early American history (1492-1789): Political, social, economic* (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1938, xxii, 705 pp., \$5.00); R. W. SETON-WATSON, *Britain in Europe, 1789-1914: A survey of foreign policy* (Cambridge University

Press (Toronto, Macmillan), 1937, ix, 716 pp., \$9.00); G. B. SMITH, *The French Revolution and Napoleon, 1789-1815* (London, Edward Arnold [Toronto, Longmans, Green], 1938, 240 pp., \$1.25); MAUD MORRISON STONE, *This Canada of ours*, illustrated by J. STUART MORRISON (Toronto, Musson, 1937, xiii, 376 pp., \$1.25); A. B. THEOBALD, *A contemporary history for students overseas* (London, New York, Toronto, Longmans, Green, 1937, x, 167 pp., 75c.); J. E. WETHERELL, *Three centuries of Canadian story*, illustrated by C. W. JEFFERYS and others (Toronto, Musson, 1937, xvi, 399 pp., \$1.25).

ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

Acadia University Library, Wolfville, N.S., has several special collections that should serve the student of Canadian history. Perhaps the most important of these is the Eric Dennis collection of Canadiana, the gift of the late Senator Dennis and Mrs. Dennis of Halifax, N.S., in memory of their son, Captain Eric Dennis, who fell in the Great War. The larger part of this collection, comprising about 10,000 titles, was assembled by the late Major J. Plimsoll Edwards of Halifax, and was purchased from him for the Acadia Library in 1917. Within a short time the books and other documents were catalogued and at the present time a special catalogue is being prepared for publication. This collection is composed of Canadiana in general and some Americana of the colonial period, but the emphasis is on the history of the Maritime Provinces. Forming a part of it is the A. J. Crockett collection of Pictoniana, or records of Pictou county, N.S., gathered by Judge A. J. Crockett of New Glasgow and presented to Acadia University.

Of special interest is the Baptist historical collection of the United Baptist convention of the Maritime Provinces. These documents, printed and manuscript, have been gradually accumulated during a period of thirty years by the historical committee of the convention, and are exclusively composed of material related to the history of the United Baptists of the Maritime Provinces. The collection contains almost complete files of the denominational newspapers, manuscript records of individual churches, diaries and correspondence of elders, year-books of the convention, minutes of associations, general and special church histories. The collection contains about 2,500 items in all and is steadily growing.

The John Daniel Logan collection of Canadiana, chiefly literature, was presented to the Acadia Library by the collector, the late Dr. J. D. Logan, in 1918, and continued to increase until the donor's death in 1929. It consists largely of Canadian poetry, novels, essays, and miscellany, including the French Canadian, and boasts a unique collection of the works of Bliss Carman and much other material pertaining to that poet. The whole collection is rich in manuscripts. Dr. Logan left to the Library a large mass of his correspondence with Canadian authors, and he was in close touch with almost every writer of note in the country during the last ten years of his life.

The William Inglis Morse collection, the gift to Acadia Library of an alumnus of the university, Dr. William Inglis Morse, formerly of Paradise, N.S., and now of Cambridge, Mass., is a rich general collection, but has some rare Canadiana. The following interesting items may be listed: Thirty maps and water-colour views from the library of Lord Dalhousie, governor of Nova Scotia, 1816-9, governor of Canada, 1819-28, the only copies extant; a collection of original papers connected with the army in Nova Scotia, 1797; 140 documents, signed by the Duke of Kent, bound in one large folio volume; twenty manuscripts consisting of papers and

letters addressed to Lord Melville and to the Earl of Westmoreland relating to proprietary rights in Prince Edward Island, 1794-1855; memorandum on the north-eastern boundary of the state of Maine, signed J. W. G., 1828. [MARY KINLEY INGRAHAM, Librarian]

Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg, Historical Exhibit. In 1922 the company's historical exhibit was opened in Winnipeg with the object of depicting "by means of relics, pictures, documents, models, etc., the history of the Hudson's Bay Company". In 1937 the exhibit was reorganized by Mr. Clifford P. Wilson, who has described this unique and interesting museum in the September number of the *Beaver* and in the autumn issue of the *McGill news*. The collection is arranged in chronological sections and the story is primarily one of trade. The first section on the founding of the company is necessarily limited mainly to pictures, maps, and documents, but there is a model of the *Nonsuch* ketch of 1668, and a case of raw furs. Section 2 deals with the early forts on Hudson bay and depicts the struggles with the French, as well as the first explorations into the interior. This is followed by sections on the North West Company, the Selkirk settlement, the régime of Sir George Simpson, etc. On the period of expansion which ensued, there are collections dealing with the Pacific coast, the Mackenzie and Arctic areas, and Labrador, as well as sections on the Plains Indians, with interesting displays of native handicrafts, etc. Of great interest is the section devoted to transportation, which includes ship models, both sail and steam, a birch-bark canoe, a dog cariole, the nameboard from the *Beaver*, and innumerable pictures showing the various methods of transportation, past and present. Finally, there are sections on life in the posts, the transfer of the jurisdiction of the north-west to the Dominion of Canada, the Riel rebellions, Fort Garry and Winnipeg, and trade and development in the twentieth century.

Huntington Library, San Marino, California. In 1931 the library began the publication of the *Huntington Library bulletin*, the main purpose of which was "to particularize the resources of the Huntington Library and attempt to estimate their importance". The library has now come to the conclusion that bibliographies and bibliographical lists are more useful, and hence an independent series of *Huntington library lists* has been started. In order, however, to provide a medium for the publication of articles based on the researches of scholars at the library, a new periodical has been started—the *Huntington Library quarterly*, which will also print occasional descriptions of the resources of the library and small collections of manuscripts. The *Quarterly* is published four times a year, beginning in October, 1937. It costs \$5.00 a year by subscription or \$1.50 for single numbers. Subscriptions and orders should be addressed to the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

The Library of Congress has published (in 1937) the report of its division of manuscripts for 1935-6. Among recent acquisitions of interest to students of colonial history, we note miscellaneous pieces of the mercantile correspondence of John, Jonathan, and Thomas Amory, including three letters of much interest dealing with the period just before the revolution and discussing various consequences of the Townshend acts. A dozen stitched account books of the Glasgow firms of James and Henry Ritchie and James Ritchie & Co., 1771-7, illustrate the problem of the "British debts" which played so large a part in the politics of the period after the revolution.

